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MEMOIRS  
OF  
Captain Lemuel Roberts.

CONTAINING  
ADVENTURES IN YOUTH,  
VICISSITUDES EXPERIENCED AS  
A CONTINENTAL SOLDIER,  
HIS  
SUFFERINGS AS A PRISONER,  
AND  
ESCAPES FROM CAPTIVITY.  
WITH  
*SUITABLE REFLECTIONS*  
ON THE  
*CHANGES OF LIFE.*

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WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

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BENNINGTON, VERMONT,

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1809.



# MEMOIRS

OF

CAPTAIN LEMUEL ROBERTS.

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BUT few things are more frequent, perhaps, than for men to conceive, that the occurrences of their lives have been singular, and that they possess a sufficiency of interesting incident, if understandingly communicated, to excite surprise, produce pleasure, & probably be of some service to mankind ; in displaying the changes of life, and the bounty and care of a kind superintending providence.

The writer and subject of these memoirs is ready to acknowledge, that this idea has frequently impressed his mind, and from his having been very often requested to make his sufferings and escapes public, by those to whom he has made them partially known, he has at length decided to comply with their request, and while his aim will be to render the narrative worthy of public notice, from its incidental variety and the manner of relation, his intention is to pay a strict regard to truth, and to detail events in the language of honest simplicity.

The place of my nativity was Canaan in Connecticut ; my birth took place, agreeably to the account of my parents, in April 1751, and my father was pleased to give me his own christian name. When I was in my tenth year my father removed, with his family, to the town of Stillwater, in the state of Newyork. At this

place I continued to reside with my parents, until I had attained my seventeenth year; when, being of an enterprising mind, and anxious to do something that should forward my interest, and turn to more account than common domestic labor, I communicated my views to my parents, and with their consent entered into partnership with my elder brother, then in his twenty first year, in company with one Peter Castle and Ebenezer Allen, to go on to the Grand Isle, in Lake Champlain, for the purpose of cutting lumber. This was in the year 1768: and that pleasant and fertile island, which now constitutes a county in Vermont, was then a complete and totally uncultivated wilderness, not an inhabitant residing on it, and but here and there a small house or two on the lake shores in its vicinity.

Our inducement to go to the Grand Isle proceeded from the request of a Mr. George Masom, agent to a company of British merchants, in procuring a large quantity of lumber from America, who offered us such terms as, in our view, would afford a handsome reward for our toil.— We went on to the island in the fall, and spent there a cold and dreary winter, amidst great fatigue and toil, provisions being irregularly furnished us by our employer, from Canada: but after all our arduous and uncommon exertion, we found our labor by no means obtained us a recompence equal to our expectations. One reason of this failure was, that when Masom came on to the island in the spring, to draw off the lumber, accompanied by a number of Canadian laborers, he brought with him a man of the name of Mallet, to inspect our slaves. This

Mallet was a man subject to intemperance, and would often attend to his business of inspection when his wine was too heavy for him ; for this or for some more powerful reason, he threw out so many of the slaves, under pretence that they were not fit for market, that it appeared as if we were likely to lose our labor, and scarcely to obtain enough to defray the expences which had been incurred.

Sensible of our injury, yet not knowing well how to obtain redress, after various consultations, we at length came to the determination to burn the culls, or refuse stuff, but to this both Masom and Mallet violently objected, and after much altercation Masom settled with us, and paid us for our labor, a sufficiency of money to carry us handsomely home to Stillwater, and to leave each of us a trifling pittance beside.

It may not be amiss here to mention a few singular things that took place on our passage to, and during the time of our stay upon the island. If my recollection is correct, we went on in the month of October : on our arrival at Crown Point, where a small British garrison was then stationed, Masom obtained a boat and four or five soldiers, to carry us on to the Grand Isle, and from thence to accompany him down to St. John's. We left Crown Point in fair and pleasant weather, and met with nothing worth mentioning on our passage to the place now called Willsborough. where we landed and purchased a grindstone, and some refreshment, and again set sail for our place of destination. Soon after we left Willsborough, we were overtaken with a smart south wind, and the lake soon became so



boisterous, as to put us all into the utmost danger of our lives. For myself, being entirely inexperienced as a sailor, I was struck with the terrors of the scene, and naturally led to conceive that our fate was inevitable. To add to the trouble of my mind sea-sickness too overcame me to such a degree, as totally to destroy my capability of action, and my reaching and straining to puke was so severe, as to make me conceive that I should certainly tear away my vitals from their seat; but we escaped, through the kind care of a merciful providence, that probably not one of our number had the grace to acknowledge. During the tempest Masom himself stood at helm, and after a few hours of most violent buffeting and peril, we made a small island, south of the Grand Isle, and run into a little inlet, or harbor, where we lay safely moored until the storm was entirely over.

The next morning we reached the Grand-isle, made a safe landing, and immediately went out, in company with Mr. Masom, in search of timber whereon to commence our operations. In this employ we spent the day, and towards evening reached what we called the Gut, at the north end of the South-Hero. Here, upon the spot which has since been generally known by the name of Gordon's farm, we found excellent timber, and what was very agreeable to us, we also found a chauntee or lumber shed, ready built to our hands, that had formerly been made use of by some Canadians, who had been on the island before us, on the business of lumbering.

Masom having answered his views thus far, and being satisfied in his mind that he had reach-



ed the island he had in view, as it eventually proved to be, he left us next morning, and proceeded on his voyage to St. John's. Here it may not be amiss to mention, that my sea-sickness had begun to abate, before we reached the little island before mentioned, and that afterwards I was not affected by sickness of any kind, through all the changes and hardships which we experienced in the expedition.

We commenced our operations immediately, and being resolutely bent on making an advantageous business of it, we wrought with decided energy, refraining from our labor only on the Sabbath, which we agreed on observing as a day of rest.

One Sunday, having laid aside usual labor, I went out to take a walk with Ebenezer Allen, and took an axe in my hand lest any thing should take place that may call for its use; in our excursion I observed some scratches on a hollow tree, which made me conceive there may be raccoons or some such creatures in it, and being invincibly attached to the business of hunting for game, I felled the tree, but was disappointed in my view. The idea of finding some raccoons in the woods, however, still possessing my mind, I cast my eyes around, and perceived a large white elm, at a little distance, which I conceived to be hollow, and on coming up to it found considerable scratching, apparently new; animated with new hopes, I struck a blow or two on the tree, and immediately heard a scratching within, and Allen cried out, cut a club! cut a club! the raccoon is coming out at the top of the tree: I cast my eye on a strait sapling at a

rod or two distance, and stepped to cut it, when Allen came running by me in apparent fear, and casting my eyes round to discover the cause, I perceived a large bear coming swiftly down the great tree, on which I lifted my axe and ran towards him, but my swiftness prevented my getting a stroke at him, before he reached the ground, upon doing which he gave but one growl and a gnash with his teeth, and then got out of my reach as speedily as he could, or I should have grappled with him at all hazards.

To shew the singular preservations that providence is often pleased to afford, to creatures unmindful of the goodness that supports them, I shall here mention an incident that befel two of our company ; which threatened at the time, by the loss of their lives, to frustrate our whole plan of operation. Soon after the setting in of winter, my brother and Allen being out on a walk one Sunday, took it into their heads to go over to the main, to a place called Point a Rush, on the western shore, and see if they could find any inhabitants. They accordingly crossed and found the ice good ; here after some travel they found a large-chauntee, and a number of residents, engaged in business similar to our own : — but the satisfying of their curiosity cost them very dear : — the broad lake was not closed, and a smart south wind arising, while they were on the main, the ice began to break up, and they had to run round a considerable distance to find a spot where they dared to attempt to cross, and at last had to exert themselves with all their might, to skip from cake to cake, at the constant and imminent risk of their lives, a distance of se-

veral miles ; but Providence was pleased to preserve them. and after the endurance of almost incredible fatigue, to enable them both to get back in safety to the island.

In this event, as in many others that I have noticed in the course of my life, the terrors of providence have been calculated to bring men to a momentary sense of their dependence, and an idea of the vileness of their conduct : the singular preservation he had experienced, had such an effect upon Allen, that a visible change in his language and conduct was evident for some time. In relating the incident, " I thought," said he, " that my hair stood erect, and would even turn white with horror : and I determined if my life was spared, that I would never utter another profane oath while I lived." Allen was a profane man, and had not grace enough to keep his engagement ; his terror soon subsided, and he returned *like the dog to his vomit again, and like the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.*

I shall here mention another instance of Providential deliverance, which particularly respected myself, and which transpired during our residence on the island.

Some time in the month of January, on a foul day, when we had laid by from work, I took my gun, and determining to hunt a little, crossed on the ice from the North to the South Hero. After hunting for some time, and meeting with no game worth notice, I sat out on my return on the ice, and had proceeded unsuspecting of danger, until I reached the middle of the passage,

when one of my feet broke through, and striking suddenly with the other to save myself, that likewise breaking through, cast me down on my face, and threw my gun from my shoulder to a considerable distance from me. While thus lying on the ice, to my surprize I perceived, that the sudden thaw had so affected it, as to render the very spot where I lay a mere honey-comb: without endeavoring therefore to rise on my feet, I crept on my hands and knees to my gun, and perceiving the ice thereabouts to have fewer eyelet holes than that where my feet broke through, I ventured to rise, and with great caution proceeded to the shore.

But to return to my narrative. After the settling of our account with Masom, in the best way we could, as has been before mentioned; we sat out on our return home to Stillwater; but the broad lake not being frozen over, we had to go over to the eastern shore. It was now about the 20th of March, and in two days travel we reached Shelburne, where we got some refreshment, at Logan's settlement, not having been able to obtain any, except what we had with us, or to find any house, except one at Pottier's Point, from the time we left the island until our arrival at Logan's.

We left Shelburne the next morning and travelled on to Split-rock, where we took the ice again, and run to Crown Point before night; the next morning we reached Ticonderoga, before we took breakfast, and by night got to Sabbath-day point, on Lake George, where we put up for the night, at the house of Samuel Adams. The next morning we reached Fort George, a



distance of twenty four miles, before we took breakfast, and the same night put up at the house of one Mr. Morse, near Fort Edward, and the day following arrived safe in Stillwater.

The next winter enteing my eighteenth year, and being robust of frame, and firm of constitution, with the consent of my parents, I again engaged in an arduous business, with a number of others, which was to get out masts for Gen. Schuyler, in Saratoga district; and in this laborious and somewhat hazardous business, found very few men capable of bearing more fatigue and hardship than myself. The spring following I removed with my parents, on to a tract of land, on Deerfield river, on the east side of Hoosick mountain, in Massachusetts; & about this time my father being rendered incapable of labor, and my elder brother coming of age, and entering into the world for himself, the charge of a large family, in a great measure, devolved on me, and I underwent the fatigue of clearing away considerable part of a large farm, and of supporting my father's family, for six years, which brings us to the year 1775.

I now come to a part of my history, that may render it necessary to make the reader acquainted with my disposition and propensities from my early youth. I had the most ardent love for the exercise of hunting, even when too young to have experienced either its toils or pleasures, but when I was about thirteen years of age, being out in the woods one night with my axe, and my dog, to hunt for raccoons, the dog barked around a white elm tree, which drew my attention; but coming up to it, it proved so large

that I dare not undertake to cut it down. The dog would not leave it, however, and therefore I returned to the tree again, it being then a little past midnight, as I judged, and began to cut on the tree. I had many spells of cutting and resting, but before it was much more than two thirds down, cutting my curve out, and being discouraged again, I left the tree and endeavored to call the dog away, but he was now even more anxious than before ; upon this I returned to it again and labored till after sun rise, when the tree fell, and a great he raccoon rolled out of it, which my dog instantly seized and killed. This success added to my thirst for the enjoyment of the exercise, and I afterwards spent many nights in catching, and perhaps as many, or more, in fruitlessly hunting after raccoons and other sorts of game.

Another of my singular hunting scrapes took place when I was in my fourteenth year. The fever and ague had afflicted me for some time, and I was but just getting the better of it, when one day my father told me I might take my gun, and go to a salt lick at a short distance from the house, and probably I might get a shot at a deer. I accordingly took the gun and sat out, but before I got to the lick, I heard a dog bark at a tree, which upon getting fair sight of, I perceived a yearling bear on the tree, near the crotch, and after calling for the owner of the dog several times, and receiving no answer, I fired at the bear, and wounded him in one claw of a forefoot, and he fell. The dog seized it, and the bear hugged him and opened his mouth to bite, on which I instantly jammed the butt of my gun

into it with all my might, and then snatching my hatchet from my girdle, I killed the bear, and though much enfeebled by my disorder, yet I made a shift to drag him home.

To give the reader an idea of the firmness of my strength and boldness of adventure at the time of my entering the army, I shall here recite a few incidents which occurred during the term of my residence at the foot of Hoosick mountain, which immediately preceded the date of my enlistment. It had become my frequent practice, and most esteemed amusement, even in the severest of weather, to go out on the hills to hunt; and once, on an extreme cold day, soon after I had betaken myself to the mountain, on my snow shoes, having a good dog with me, I started some deer, and pursued them from mountain to mountain, to an extreme height; at length my dog separated one from the rest, and drove it into an open glade in the river: I was near to it, and the deer seeing me jumped out of the glade on to the ice, and ran across the river. I fired at her but missed my aim, and my dog being exceedingly swift of foot, soon overtook her and snapped her by the ham, but the deer being in swift motion, though the dog threw her, yet she broke his hold, and the dog fell and slid on the ice himself, nearly two rods from her; this gave the deer an opportunity to spring into another glade, but the dog was so close at her heels that he followed her in; I was soon up with them, and found the deer had turned on the dog, and was whipping him under the water, and would probably soon have drowned him, but

discovering me she left him, and strove for the upper part of the glade, which having gained, she was endeavoring to get out on to the ice, and was poised as it were, not being quite able to effect her purpose, when I got so near that I threw my hatchet at her, and struck her in the head, when she fell backward into the glade, and the water running exceedingly swift, I was fearful she would be carried under the ice: rather inconsiderately therefore, I sprang in, and the current being exceeding swift and the water up to my arm pits, I should unavoidably have been driven under the ice, but throwing my right arm over the back of the deer, which had begun to revive, and struggle to get out, I was supported in part by her, and forced her along to the place where my hatchet lay. The water was here about up to my middle, and gaining good foothold, by a strenuous exertion I threw the deer partly on to the ice, and seizing my hatchet killed her before I got out of the water.

After dispatching this deer, I betook myself to the mountains after the others, though from the severity of the weather, it was but a few minutes before my outside clothes were frozen entirely stiff. I soon had the fortune to start another deer, which made for the water and I followed it, till it got into a glade and was driven under the ice. On this I made for the place where my first deer lay, and from thence sat out for home, dragging my game after me upon the ice, a distance of near three miles.

At another time, when I was splitting out shingles, my dog started and soon seized a stately buck: seeing this I dropped my fro and ran up



to them with my maul, and seizing the buck by the ear, tried to knock him down, but could not : the snow being very deep, I stepped round, and springing on his back, with one hand turned up his nose, and with the other, having now a better opportunity to strike than before, I soon knocked him down with my maul, and then cut his throat with my drawing knife.

Added to the hardy enterprizes of my hunting life, my steadfastness of mind to undertake hazardous achievements, and the correspondent firmness of my constitution, & muscular strength, enabled me in the course of my adventures, in two instances, to be the instrument, in the hand of providence, to save the life of two of my fellow creatures, when in great distress, on Hoosick mountains. When I was in my twenty third year, if my memory serves me rightly as to time, my father returned home one day, towards evening, and informed me, that in struggling across the mountain, from the west side, in company with a stranger, an infirm man, who had been to Lebanon springs for the benefit of his health, he had himself got bewildered, and after leaving the stranger's horse, from the difficulty of getting him along, and discovering the river, where the snow was light, sooner than he had expected, he had unfortunately permitted the stranger to return, to endeavor to get his horse along, with directions how to steer for our house, and under promise to send me out to meet him : but that having been near Deerfield river, instead of Cold river when he gave his directions, and supposing himself near the former, he had consequently given wrong directions, and was seriously appre-

hensive of distressing or fatal consequences resulting to the unfortunate stranger. On this I took a little food with me, to cherish the man if I should find him capable of receiving it, and to support myself, and immediately sat out.

When I came to the place where my father directed the stranger to turn to the left instead of to the right, I found the man had got his horse on, and following the unfortunate directions of my father punctually, he had gone up instead of down the river, which led him on to a severe cobble of a mountain. I took his track hence, & followed it a considerable way, till I found his horse tied to a tree, and it being now dark, it became impossible to perceive his track from hence. In this dilemma I hallowed several times, and once or twice received an answer, but though I continued to halloo, at intervals, for a considerable time, I received no further answer, and to add to my perplexity, I could not for my life decide, whether he was on the mountain before mentioned, or down at the bend of the river below me: I concluded the latter to be the case, in all probability; and accordingly descending to where the horse was, I with great exertions got him down to the river side, but to my surprise I found no track of his master.

Coming now to some flood wood, in a narrow passage, which I concluded he could not possibly pass without observing me, I decided upon making up a fire and laying by till morning, when I would again hunt for the man, if he did not find his way to me in the course of the night. I accordingly put my design in execution, and rising at dawn of day, took my own track to where I

found the horse tied the night before, and again halloed with all my might several times, but got no answer. I however now plainly discovered a track, and following on for some distance, halloing at stated intervals, at last, to my great joy, I received an answer, and keeping the direction of the voice, as I found he likewise did of mine, I soon perceived him descending from the mountain, but so extremely debilitated and weak, that when he met with any little obstruction he would pitch headlong into the snow. I got up to him, and making him lean on my shoulder for support, I descended to where his horse was, and from thence onward to our house, where he had to tarry a day or two before he obtained strength sufficient to enable him to venture home. This man's name was Belding, and at the time of this event, belonged to Shelburn, in Massachusetts. I shall now close my relation respecting him, with just remarking, that in my way home with him, I had to cross the Deerfield river several times, the water being above my waist, the river wide and rapid, and the ice perplexing, and yet received no injury, from cold or otherwise, that I was sensible of at the time.

The second instance in which providence was pleased to enable me, apparently to be the means of saving the life of my fellow man, was some time the winter succeeding that in which I had afforded relief to Mr. Belding. It was on an exceeding cold day, pretty late in the afternoon, when one Mr. Anderson, or Henderson, came to where my father and myself were getting wood, and informed us of his having left a man on the mountain, without snow shoes, who must, in his

opinion, inevitably perish, unless he obtained speedy assistance. My father proposed to have me go across the river, and get some young men who lived there, to go with me in search of the distressed stranger, but to this I objected, desiring him, if he thought it expedient, to go after them, while I would proceed on, which, after procuring two pair of snow shoes, I did.

Following Mr. Anderson's direction and track, I found the stranger, soon after dark. He had kindled a little fire in an old rotten stump, but had not resolution enough to break up any thing that was attainable to put on to it, and consequently he had reaped but little advantage from the heat. When I came up to him I found him totally discouraged; and having got fully persuaded that he should die, let him do what he would, he utterly refused to put on the snow shoes I had brought for him; but after I had persuaded him, laughed at him and scolded at him for some time, and partly forced him, I at length got him into motion, and when he had got a few falls on his snow shoes, he began to go on them tolerably well, and after a few hours of exertion, he arrived safe, though not without being somewhat frozen, at my father's house.

I shall mention but one more instance of singular enterprise in the hunting line, that took place while I resided under Hoosick mountain, which was as follows. There had been a deep snow on the mountain, and a sudden thaw happening, instantly succeeded by a severe frost, the hills were completely covered with glare ice. I spoke to my two younger brothers, and told them that I guessed if they were to take the dog, and go to



where the old indian road went up the mountain, probably they might catch a deer. The boys sat off and I prepared to go to Charlemont, and had but just eat my breakfast and started, when I heard the dog bark on the mountain, and soon after discovered a deer, on Deerfield river, which ran into a glade, and the dog soon got up to it. On discovering this I caught a gun, and ran for the glade, and got a shot at the creature, which proved to be a fine large buck, but my shot did him no injury except it wounded him in one claw of one of his fore feet, which was lifted up to free him from the water : On perceiving him attempting to get out of the glade, I dropped my gun and run up to it, my dog being on the opposite side of the glade ; and the buck at last grew so mad that he would spring first at the dog and then at me with the greatest violence, as either of us approached him. As he came near the lower part of the glade he sprang at me, when seizing him by the ears, and turning him on his side, I drew him out of the water on to the glare ice. I then got hold of his under jaw with my right hand, my thumb being in his mouth, and clapping my foot on his shoulder, endeavored to break his neck, but my utmost exertions I found, did no more than partially to dis-joint the under jaw.

While I was doing this he rolled over, and by that means getting on to rougher ice, he recovered his foothold, and raising up whipped me severely over the head and shoulders with his fore legs : my only resource, therefore, was to force him on to the glare ice again, where I threw him, and renewed my attempt to break his neck,

but found my exertions fruitless. Despairing at length of effecting my design in this way, I let go my hold of his jaw with my right hand, endeavoring to seize it at the same time with my left, resolving to strike him with my fist near the kidneys, hoping to overpower him in that way. As I was endeavoring however to shift my hold of the jaw, the buck sprung from me, and got into the glade again. I renewed my attack, with the dog, and the buck continued to fight us as before; at length in one of his jumps at me, I caught him again by the ears, and endeavored to draw him out of the glade, but he got his hind feet against the edge of the ice, and made so great an effort to free himself from my grasp, that I came very near being drawn into the glade by him, but breaking my hold I escaped. As soon as he recovered he again made at me, and I had the good fortune to catch him by the ears again, and bringing his head on to the ice, whirled his body into the stream, turning him at the same time on to his side, and the current brought his back up against the ice, where by dint of perseverance, & a severe exertion of strength, I held him in that position, till one of my brothers who had descended from the mountain, ran to me with a knife, with which I cut the throat of the buck, and then drew him out of the water.

My brother now informed me, that the dog started a young buck and an old one in company, and the young one making for the Cold river, the dog pursued and soon overtook and killed it, then finding the old one's track, he took it, which brought him to the spot where I was, and where I had so singular a contest with the buck,

on the ice, enduring a most violent degree of beating over the head and shoulders while he was up, and a severe raking with his hind feet when I held him down ; so that it was quite a trial of my fortitude to preserve my hold, very often, for I had him up and down at least eight or ten times.

Thus to give the reader an idea of my boldness, perseverance and strength, from early youth until the time when I entered into the service of my country, I have made a long digression, and must now return to the direct course of my narrative. We had progressed on to the year 1775. At this period the revolutionary war in America commenced ; in the spring of the year 1775, the tyranny of Britain became insupportable ; her fleets appeared on our coasts in most hostile array ; her armies were quartered in our most populous cities, against the will of the inhabitants ; the most bitter animosities became prevalent, and at length, so early as the 19<sup>th</sup> of April, the blood of the sons of Liberty was wantonly spilt by the British, at Lexington.

The whole continent now became attentive to the call of liberty ; the alarm was universal, and feeling my bosom glow with love for my country, I turned out on the first alarm, with many of my fellow youth, and marched, under the command of one Captain Avery, to Cambridge, near Boston. In Cambridge I enlisted under one Captain Maxfield, to serve as a soldier for eight months.

The service was a novelty to me, but my zeal for liberty urged me to an attentive observance

of all necessary orders, and consequently I soon became so great an adept in the military exercise, that I was appointed a corporal in the company ; and though I was a new foldier, having never seen action, yet having been long inured to toil, and hardship, I constantly sought occasion for enterprize, though I never had the fortune to be in any serious engagement with the enemy during the campaign.

About the first of June we marched to Chelsea, near Boston, under the command of Col. Ephraim Doolittle ; a gentleman whom I ever esteemed more for the strength of his head than the valor of his heart ; more as a discerning man than a resolute foldier : He kept his men too close for any idea of foldiership, and erred by taking too much caution. Under him as a commander, I had no opportunity to signalize myself in any way, or even to come into contact with the enemy.

The first opportunity that presented for my enjoying a season of exertion, occurred as follows. In the beginning of June a pretty severe action happened between a large reconnoitring party of Americans under General Putnam, and a party of the British, who landed on Hog Island to drive the Americans off ; in this action the spirit of America was invincibly displayed. The British were beaten at every point ; they were forced to retreat to their boats and fly to Noddle's Island, to place themselves under the protection of their shipping.

A day or two after this action, Col. Doolittle with his reinforcement, of which I was one, arrived at Chelsea ; just on our arrival, a British



schooner, (probably sent to afford assistance to their party on Noddle's Island, who had been in the battle on Hog Island,) arrived opposite Chelsea, and being driven on to the ways, struck ground and stuck fast. This being discovered, a few resolute fellows from our detachment, and from Putnam's party, procured a field piece, and ran down to endeavor to take the schooner: to effect our design the more certainly, we placed a bundle of screwed hay on a pair of low wheels, to serve as a breast work for the party while advancing, and to hide our field piece from the British on board the schooner: in this manner we rushed upon them until we came within suitable nearness, when removing our breast work we gave them a salute; but they no sooner perceived our force and intention, than they set fire to the schooner fore and aft, and fled off in their boat. It was impossible for us to save the schooner, but we gained her guns, which were much needed at that time by our army, and likewise her ballast, which was pig iron, and once more evidenced to the enemy that they had to contend with hardy and enterprising men.

The next day being down on the beach, looking about for some occasion to exert myself to advantage, I perceived two of our men, whom I knew to be bold and resolute fellows, swimming over to Noddle's Island: I was no swimmer, but longed exceedingly to be with them; and with six or eight more went in search of a boat, which we found and soon were under way for the island. The British party, probably observing our motions, and seeing the two men

on the island, fled from their quarters, and retreated under cover of their shipping. On our arrival at the island, we found an abundance of horses cattle and sheep, which, presuming they belonged to the enemy, we began to prepare for removing: but to effect our design, and keep as much as possible out of the way of the artillery of their shipping, we had to drive our drove through a marsh, where the horses and cattle got mired down generally. I immediately stripped to the buff, and went to work to extricate our creatures from the mud and mire of the marsh, my comrades assisting me all they could; and a number of our soldiers on the main, observing our arduous toil, soon came to our assistance. While we were thus employed in the marsh, being in plain sight of the enemy, they brought some guns to bear upon us, and fired among us briskly with grape-shot; but as providence was pleased to order they did no injury. Our numbers now constantly encreasing from the main, the business of dragging out the horses and cattle went on briskly, and the enemy on shore began to be uneasy in their station; to add to their terror, our indians began to show themselves to them, skulking round to gain advantage; upon this they made a precipitate retreat, and the indians immediately plundered and set fire to the house from which they were driven.

In this business we took sixty three horses, seventy five head of horned cattle, and about five hundred sheep, which we conveyed safely to Chelsea, dragging them through the marsh on the island, and through the mud on the shore, between the Island and Chelsea, the water being

was low. On my reaching Chelsea, I found I had lost my shirt, but Col. Doolittle made good the damage by presenting me with another immediately, which was among the plunder brought off from the island.

After adjusting this business I heard that there were three fat hogs on the island, that might be obtained by exertion, and I motioned to some of my companions to go and get them. One Jonathan Thayer and myself set out on the expedition ; we got safe on to the island, and made immediately for the ruins of the house that the indians had burnt. Near the house was a garden curiously picketed in, but the gate was open, and lay on the enemy's side, within fair shot from their shipping. We concluded the hogs were in the garden, but Thayer thought the attempt to get at them would be too venturesome, as the enemy were vigilant and the gate in plain sight : I however ran round ; and driving out the hogs, that were in the garden feasting on fine green peas, I headed them to prevent their running toward the enemy, but they discovering me, and perceiving my drift, fired at me from a cannon, and the ball passed so near my head as to shake not only my hat but my whole frame, and very sensibly to affect my feelings. In a sort of frantic zeal I sprung over the fallen wall of the burnt house, and cocked my gun, but in a moment, I laughed at the folly of the action, and reflected on the inefficiency of my breast work, on which I left it and drove the hogs over to the place where our boat lay, and conveyed them in triumph to Chelsea shore ; but when I was about

to butcher them a Mr. Toy came to me, and informed me that he was tenant to Mr. Brown, of Noddle's island, to whom the hogs belonged : that Mr. Brown was a good son of liberty, and had suffered much injury : and on his offering me a compensation for my trouble in saving the property, I delivered over to him the hogs, in behalf of his landlord. We were soon remanded back to Cambridge, and we here made application for satisfaction with respect to our share of the plunder, &c. brought off from Noddle's island, but our officers so managed the business that we never obtained any recompence for our fatigue. Thus injustice is too often done by officers, to soldiers who risk their lives with boldness, and who render essential service to their country, and thus a good cause is too often fatally injured.

I exerted myself to the utmost to obtain justice for myself and comrades, with respect to the plunder brought off the island, as before mentioned, but all was in vain ; and while anxiously engaged in this pursuit, I was suddenly and feverely seized with sickness, and sent to the hospital, where I stayed two nights, pursuing my own mode of cure instead of the prescriptions of the physicians, when hearing that our company were about to draw a month's wages, I found means to pass the centry at the hospital, and having received my pay, yet still remaining unfit for duty. though apparently on the recovery, I requested of the captain a furlough, to enable me to visit the fatherless family, which since the decease of my father had fallen to my charge. The captain said he could grant no furloughs at that



time, but that he would give me a pass, and I might go home, if able. Accordingly I sat out, and obtaining the chance of a horse to ride on home, was soon with them, continuing daily on the recovery ; but I had been at home only one night, when we were surprised at the hearing of a heavy cannonade, from a great distance, which proved to be the battle of Bunker's Hill.

The sound of this cannonade so raised my spirits, that I immediately sat out for camp ; and so eager was my desire to be there, that I reached it, being a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, in very little more than two days. On my arrival I found that our company had been in the engagement, that the captain had received a ball through the shoulder, during the action, that one of the company was killed and two were missing, of whom we never got any account. I regretted exceedingly the circumstance of my not having been with them to share the dangers and honors of the day, more especially so, as for the remainder of the campaign I had no opportunity of exchanging a shot with the enemy.

On my term of enlistment expiring I returned home, pretty much determined to give up the idea of having any thing further to do with a soldier's life : But meeting with some disappointments, and my elder brother returning home by agreement with me, to take charge of the family, together with the news arriving of the unfortunate failure of our troops in their attempt upon Quebec, together with the solemn tidings of the death of the brave General Montgomery, it altogether weighed too heavily on my mind to admit of my staying at home, and I enlisted for a

year's service, into the company of Captain Thomas Alexander, in Col. Porter's regiment, of the Massachusetts' line, and in April 1776 we marched from Old Hadley for Quebec.

The early season of the year and the newness of the country through which we had to pass, rendered this march peculiarly troublesome both to man and beast. Our route lay through Bennington by Castleton, to Ticonderoga, and tho' I had served my country eight months in the army, I never knew the hardships a soldier had to encounter till this campaign.

From Ticonderoga we marched to Crown Point, where, as it had then become dangerous to go on the ice, we were detained till the lake was clear of it ; then proceeded in boats to St. Johns, and after a few days went down the river Chamble to the St. Lawrence, and from thence to the Three Rivers, where a detachment from our regiment was to remain, and I was strongly urged to stay, under the command of my old friend Peter Castle, who was with me on the lumber business, on the Grand Isle, and had now obtained a lieutenancy in the service. I was exceeding glad to meet my old friend, but my mind was so impressed with the idea of assisting in scaling the proud ramparts of Quebec, that I could not consent to relinquish the enterprise.

From Three Rivers we boated down to Wolf's Cove, & marched from thence to the Plains of Abraham. Here we experienced scenes peculiarly trying to our feelings ; the small pox was in almost every house, and our regiment not having had it, and it being against orders to inocu-

late, we were filled with consternation. Many of our soldiers got privately inoculated, and myself among the rest ; when, a few days after our arrival, it being a very foggy day, we were all collected in a body under the command of General Thomas, and the idea was circulated that we were to be led immediately on to scale the walls of Quebec. At this time my gun was at the armorers, having got injured on our route, but determining not to lose my share in the glory of the day, I paraded with my tomahawk and cutlafs ; but the business turned out to be only a plan of the General's, to try the spirit of the soldiers. Finding the army as alert as he could wish, the Commander in Chief addressed his men in a very handsome manner, thanking them for their spirit and ambition, and wishing them every possible success in their career of glory.

News now coming to the officers' ears that great numbers of the soldiers had been privately inoculated, the enforcing the orders against it was found impracticable, and we were sent back about 30 miles, for the rest of the regiment to be inoculated. Here we crossed a small river, and marched about 2 miles up, to a french settlement, where we were billeted out to await the issue of our disorder, but the enemy finding the weak and deranged state of our camp, took instant advantage, and we were alarmed the very next morning after getting to our quarters, with the roaring of cannon, which appeared to approach us with rapidity, until it grew very near. At this time being all engagedness to discover the occasion of the cannonade, we observed a man running towards us ; on coming

up he enquired for head quarters, and informed, that our army were on the retreat, and were crossing at the mouth of the river up which we were, while the enemy were firing upon them from their light vessels.

The occurrences which ensued shocked me exceedingly ; a groupe of exceeding pale faces appeared around me, on receipt of the news : we were ordered to swing our packs immediately, and join the army. The symptoms of the small pox, or some other symptoms, operated too extensively to suit my feelings ; one cried I cannot carry my pack, another, I must leave my clothes, &c. in short all was bustle and confusion, and according to my conception the *pale symptoms* were rather more evident in the officers than among the men. I could not refrain from laughing at some, bantering others, and scolding at as many, to excite to motion.

As there is seldom any considerable evil however, without its attendant benefit, so it happened here, with respect to myself. Though I was something weakened by dieting, &c. for the small pox, my pack was too valuable for me to abandon, and while I was preparing to swing it, our ensign offered me two good shirts, if I would carry a third for him, and I packed them up ; our captain too, wanted me to take a pair of his shoes, and a pair of his son's who waited on him, and I obliged him, and kept receiving from one and another, till my pack weighed about seventy pounds ; and using much persuasion to induce others to follow my example, so far at least as to save their own clothes, and laughing some out of their plea of inability, I swung my pack and



started with them on our march for the bank of the river St. Lawrence, to join our retreating army.

On reaching the bank of the river we perceived two British vessels had passed us, and lay at anchor some distance from the shore, on the line of our projected march. On our coming opposite to them a great part of our men crept along up the bank, among the bushes, and a few kept the road, on the flats, in sight of the enemy. Setting down in this place, with one of my comrades, on a pile of rails which lay in the road, and looking at these vessels, I humorously observed to him, that as long as I had been a foldier, I never yet had an opportunity to fire at the enemy, and was thinking to improve it now : On this levelling my piece about top-mast high, and discharging it in fun, at that very instant the vessels gave us one or two broadsides each, and it became laughable to see the skulkers scamper out of the bushes into the road, as the balls made tearing work among the brush, while they entirely overshot the flats. From this firing of the enemy I believe no injury was received. But to proceed with the history of our retreat.

We marched that evening to Point au Chambo. The next morning we procured two batteaux, for the use of the invalids ; but these boats being insufficient to receive the sick, and admit of well men to manage the boats, the invalids alone embarked, under the care of colonel Thomas Williams, and the most able among us were obliged to take the oars by turns.

Expecting the enemy upon us every hour, we made use of all possible exertion, and the prevalence of a south wind kept the enemy back and favored our retreat.

About two o'clock we landed, struck up a fire, and prepared a little pauada without salt, which we eat with molasses; but here the symptoms of the small pox so suddenly and distressingly affected me, that it seemed to me I could scarcely have swallowed a mouthful of their food though it had been to save my life. The sun now shut in, and it began to rain; yet sick as we were, we had to betake ourselves to the open boat, and I now began to learn how much need there was of pitying, those of whom I had made so much sport.

I crawled to the boat and got under a seat, concluding it was impossible for me to row any further, but on arriving at a rapid place in the river, the wind being ahead, and the boat beginning to drop astern after my comrades had attempted twice to stem the current, my spirits were roused, and crawling out I again manned my oar, plied it with determined resolution, and the other oarsmen seconding my efforts, we passed the rapids. The remainder of this afternoon was very rainy, and having no covering to our boat, while laboring under the foreness and sickness of a mortal disease, the tediousness of our situation will be easily conceived.

At night we landed on the western shore, but on landing we found it nearly a hundred rods to a house, and that too across a flat where the water, for a considerable part of the distance, was up to the ankles: to add to our distress too,

when we reached the house, we found that our troops who came by land, had got possession, and claiming a prior right, we could get but a poor chance at the fire

In this exigence, I retired to the back part of the room and laid down, taking every opportunity to shove feet-foremost to the fire, by slow degrees, and I after a while got as near as I could bear and with much patience endured to be frequently trodden on that night, rather than resign my place.

The next morning we continued our retreat with all possible speed, expecting every minute to find the enemy at our heels ; but a wind adverse for them still prevailed, and while it prevented their pursuit, though it occasioned us very great and incessant toil, yet it did not wholly interrupt our proceeding

When we were crossing the lake St. Peters, and had nearly gained the south eastern shore, the wind proved too strong for us and drove us back nine or ten miles, but we at last effected a landing, on the north west part of the lake, on the west bank of the St. Lawrence ; and here our Colonel, apprehensive of the approach of the enemy, or from some other motive, immediately procured a carriage, and left us to our fate. The wind having subsided by the next morning, we again sat forward, and our Colonel soon rejoined us, and we worked on upon the western shore, to a French settlement called Barke. and from thence crossed over to Sorel.

Here I must mention the progress of my disorder. The pock had come out upon me very

thick, especially upon my feet, legs, and seat, which lay to the fire, the night in which I had difficulty to get to it. as before mentioned ; and while it was founding in our ears, that even to wet our feet would be certain death, we were constantly exposed to wet and cold, and to all the changes of weather incident to a severe climate.

To do justice to our Colonel I must here mention, that he was not inattentive to the sufferings of the men committed to his charge : he supplied the necessaries within his power, and furnished as much rum as he thought we could in any way bear, giving us serious caution as to the use of it, which I endeavored to observe, yet before we reached Sorel, my pock had become so fore and troublesome, that my clothes stuck fast to my body, especially to my seat ; and it became a severe trial to my fortitude, to bear my disorder and assist in managing the boat : yet I was supported and carried through, and after being billeted out for a few days at Sorel, grew well fast, while a great many of my companions were appointed unto death.

From Sorel we retreated to Chamblee, by which time I got so as to be able to do duty, and on arriving at Chamblee, finding one of our company missing, belonging to the land party, I was sent back after him. I found him soon, at a French house, as thick of pock as he could be, but all flatted, and the man extremely sick. I procured a canteen of rum, with milk and sugar, and made him some good milk punch, which he drank freely till his pock began to fill : this was on a Sunday, and my attention and care was



so remarkably succeeded, that on the Sunday following he marched with me to camp.

Our Lieutenant whose name was Pool, was now taken extremely sick, and I was sent with him to a place called St. Rafe, if I mistake not, a village between Chamble and St. Johns:— Here we met General Sullivan's brigade, going on to the north, and my hopes were once more warmly excited that Canada would be our's after all. The disorder of my lieutenant proved to be the small pox, and he had it very bad. I attended to him for a few days, with all the care and skill of which I was master. but now orders came, for all who were able to return to Sorel, and however much I regreted to leave my worthy charge, yet as I was well able to march, and a corporal who did not seem to have much of a stomach to face the enemy, interceded for my place; our Captain consented, and I joined the regiment, and marched immediately back to Sorel. At this place we spent some time, in high spirits, in the business of fortifying, till Colonel Thompson with his party were defeated at the Three Rivers, on which unfortunate event transpiring, we were again ordered to retreat.

On the day this retreat commenced I was taken exceedingly severely with the dysentery, and being on the rear guard, I was obliged to drop behind the whole, and was most severely put to it to regain my place. Endeavoring to do it, however, I came up to an imperious young officer, stationed in the rear. This man feeling the importance of his commission, used me with very rough language, for stragling behind, with intention, as he suggested, to be taken by the en-



emy : I resented his insult with spirit, and he furnishing himself with a heavy club, threatened me with loud sounding words, and told how he would serve me if I did not run. I told him I was unable to run, and he came at me with apparent fury, but having a tomahawk in my hand, with a long handle, which I had used as a staff, I stood my ground, and he was careful not to come within my reach. There were in company with this choleric young officer, one or two others, who earnestly requested him to desist, and he readily complying with their request, and at the same time slackening his pace, while I exerted myself as before to regain my place in the guard, we soon parted company.

My necessary stops were so frequent as to render it impossible for me to overtake the guard till the regiment halted ; and towards evening our ensign came to me and finding my situation, immediately furnished another man to take my place in the guard, and contrived to get me on board a boat with the invalids, where I found my captain,

During this night I was so much out of order, and my head was so peculiarly affected, that I knew very little that past ; but the next day by taking a good dose of bohea tea, and some other simple medicines of my own, I felt quite relieved, and was enabled to enjoy repose the night following, when we reached Chamble.

Our army were detained some days at Chamble, in getting on the baggage, artillery, &c. and my recovery progressed so desirably, that in a day or two I was able to take my place, and share the fatigues of the day. From Chamble

we progressed to St. Johns, where on account of our baggage, &c. we were again detained for a short time, and from St. Johns we progressed to the Isle aux Noix, where we landed for the night ; but the island being small, the army numerous, and the season wet, we had but an uncomfortable respite, many of our men laying where they were greatly incommoded by the water.

From the Isle aux Noix we retreated to Crown Point without meeting with any thing worthy of notice. From this place I was dispatched into the country with a small party, to go to Castle-ton, after a drove of cattle that Captain Udney Hay, our purchasing commissary, had bought of the inhabitants who had moved off from Onion River, which duty we performed and returned safe with our drove to Addison, opposite Crown Point. Here the charge of the cattle, with the party, lay upon my hands more than four weeks, during which time our army had marched to Ticonderoga and Mount Independence ; but as I had no orders to remove the cattle, we lay peculiarly exposed to the enemy. At length I received verbal orders from the commissary to deliver the cattle to another Captain Hay, with a party sent to receive them ; and thinking it prudent to comply, I delivered them over accordingly, taking his receipt for them, and marched my party immediately to Mount Independence, and shared with them the fatigue of clearing away and fortifying the mount, to guard it against our British foes.

We now endured a considerable term of severe fatigue, while the army was sickly, and deaths frequent and sudden, many of the soldiers after great toil in the day expiring in the night. At this time I was seized with a fever so violently, that I became, in a few hours, as yellow as saffron; yet the enemy heaving in sight, one day, my spirit so far exceeded my ability, that I paraded with the company, but after some hours fatigue, on the enemy's withdrawing, my spirits sunk, my strength failed, and I had hard work to crawl back to camp. Kind providence however, interposed in my behalf, and after enduring the torture of a severe relapse, I regained my health, in a desirable degree, and towards the close of the campaign was enabled to return to my duty.

We now received orders to march to Albany, where we expected to be discharged, and I was still so weak as to find it a hard tour to march to lake George landing, which was only four miles, but here finding a friend who was crossing the lake, I got liberty to cross with him, and being thus eased I put my pack into a baggage wagon, and having obtained leave to get on in the best way I could, it gave a pleasant opportunity for me to visit my friends at Stillwater, from whence, after a few days' respite, I marched on to Albany.

Here, instead of being discharged, all who were able, were ordered to march for Newjersey; on inspection, the surgeon pronounced me unfit for service, but I remonstrated with the captain against being turned off in my state of inability, and he told me I might have my choice; so I

entered on board the sloop and progressed to the Highlands, and from thence to the King's Ferry, and landing on the Jersey shore we marched for Morrilstown. Here for the first time I was put on duty, after a considerable term of sickness, and my lot was to go on the flank guard, which I feared would be too heavy for me, our road being exceeding crooked, and the officers in a considerable degree, unconscious of our fatigue, or unwarrantably cruel in their conduct; for they would sometimes march with great haste, and then lie by unreasonably to rest themselves, in convenient quarters, while the soldiers had to recline on the hard ground, with nothing but the canopy of heaven for their covering, and that too in the month of December.

On our arrival near Morrilstown, general M'Dougal requesting a guard to escort him in, I turned out as one, and we marched with him nearly ten miles, where he put up with a militia Col. leaving his guard to shift for themselves, in the open air, and this too after having trotted a considerable part of the way on his horse, and consequently having kept his guard in smart motion. In the evening our brigade arrived in town, and the uncomfortableness of our situation coming to the ears of our officers, Lieutenant Seth Hunt was sent to look into the business, and about ten o'clock we got quarters. As for myself, being on sentry at the general's door, and feeling resentful for his unfeeling conduct, I kept such a stamping on the loose boards of the sloop, as to prevent his sleeping, and at length he sent the colonel out to still me: This gentleman, judging rightly of the existing facts,



came out with a case bottle of whiskey, which he left with me for the service of the sentries on the stand, with a request that they would be as still as possible, and his politeness very much favored the churlish general's repose.

We tarried in Morristown a few days and then marched to Connecticut Farms, during our quartering at which place we heard of a party of Hessian light-horse-men being at a little distance from us, and after taking suitable precautions to prevent their escape, we marched with great haste, and the whole party fell into our hands, a party of the Jersey militia having joined and gallantly assisted us in the enterprise. A day or two after this we received information that the enemy had evacuated Elizabethtown, and we marched with expedition for that place, being about four-miles distant: on our approaching the town we heard a scattering fire, at a small distance, and conceiving it may be the enemy endeavoring to decoy us, we made a momentary halt, but it proved to be a party of the enemy, who falling in with a scouting party of Jersey militia, and being worsted, fled to Elizabethtown, not knowing of the evacuation, and fell directly into our hands.

We had previously heard of a schooner lying in the creek, belonging to the enemy, and volunteers being requested to attempt to take her, I turned out among them and marched down: we soon effected our purpose, taking the schooner, & about fifty Scotch Highlanders, whom we sent off under guard. A waggon being procured, to carry the arms we had taken, myself and three others marched off with it as a guard, expecting



every minute an attack from the enemy, in consequence of the firing before mentioned : but we arrived with our booty in safety.

We now returned to our quarters at Connecticut Farms, and our year's service being out, as likewise two weeks additional service which we had performed, in consequence of the earnest request of General Washington, made known to us at Morristown ; we expected to be discharged the next day. We had now just entered on the year 1776, and the night preceding the day in which we were to be discharged, we were ordered to parade, which we did and went through several manœuvres, as the officers ordered, but at the word advance we did not stir a step—our officers in front had advanced, but finding we did not follow, they returned, and enquired the reason : urged on by my companions, I stated in a few words, the prominent abuses we had received during the campaign, and the right we had to have then received a dismissal ; and then adding, that we would fulfil our duty to a punctilio, even to the last moment, we desired their orders anew, which were then obeyed with alacrity, although instead of proceeding homeward, according to previous engagement, they led us on towards Brunswick, which place we concluded they meant to take that night, to close their term of service by real action.

This march, on account of the severity of the weather, and the bad state of the soldiers, particularly with respect to shoes, there being many nearly barefooted, and the whole very ill clad, became a very tedious business, and numbers of our brave fellows cried like children with the

severity of the cold, and the pain of travelling, their footsteps often leaving traces of blood. At length we halted and kindled up fires, with rails and every such thing that was near at hand, but had scarce got our fires well going before we were again ordered to parade and march, which seemed to augment the severity of the cold.— Whether our officers had received intelligence which occasioned them to alter their original design, or whether the suffering of the men operated too powerfully on their feelings, we never knew, but our course was now turned from Brunswick towards Amboy, and we soon reached a small settlement, and all got into houses so as to obtain a little rest, before morning.

Next morning a scout of ten volunteers were called for by Capt. Crandal, an enterprising Jerseyman, who was well acquainted with the roads, to go in search of some party of the enemy, and give Colonel Vose a chance to close his military tour by actual engagement with them. I turned out for one, and we had the good fortune to take a waggon loaded with provisions, which we got in safely, and also a horse that was tied to the waggon, which horse belonged to the enemy, and which one of our men, on mistaking a post and rail fence and some stumps for a party of the enemy, by viewing them between us and the grove, jumped on to, and in a panic rode off with, but which was secured for us by the Colonel. The waggon & horses which drew it, had been pressed into the service from the inhabitants, and were delivered up to the owner.

With this waggon we took the steward of the family of General Grant, who then commanded

the British forces in Brunswick. The provisions he had purchased were designed for the General's own table, and consequently were of the best kind. There were two barrels of excellent boiled cyder, a number of jars of apple sauce, a large quantity of poultry, dead and alive, and one good fat hog, well dressed. The steward perceiving himself nearly surrounded, and escape consequently difficult or impracticable, pulled off his hat and said, " gentlemen, I acknowledge myself your prisoner this morning : " and on our questioning of him, he informed us, that there were a party of about two hundred of their men very near us. On hearing this we drove into a gap to pass through the woods, and had got but a little distance when our hog fell off the waggon ; the enemy now hove in sight, but loth to lose our hog, I caught hold of him, and asked assistance, when a good fellow stepped back, and we threw the hog on. By this time the enemy were on the hill where we took the waggon, and not more than twenty rods distance : why they did not fire upon us is unaccountable, but our safety probably arose from their conceiving a large party of us to be lying in ambush, or we should not have dared to be so bold. We progressed swiftly along the narrow pass till getting through the grove we gained a height, from whence we could plainly see the position of the enemy, they being on a hill about equal in height, on the opposite side of the grove. We now proceeded about half a mile, to the place where we expected to meet Col. Vose, with his party of about two hundred men, with whom we hoped to return and at-

tack the enemy, but to our great disappointment we met an express from him, directing us to follow him to Woodbridge, about two miles east; instead of obeying him however, we sent the same express back to him, notifying him of our success thus far, and requesting his aid to pursue after the enemy: being now joined by a Jersey lieutenant with a scout of seven men, we appointed a guard to keep our prisoners and waggon, where they were, and with the residue of our force set out, at the request of Capt. Crandal, to see what had become of our enemy. We were now about ten strong, and coming to the hill again which overlooked the grove, we observed the enemy still in the position we left them. On this we entered the grove and advanced towards them, till we got nearly half way through, when the lieutenant observed that it appeared to him presumptuous to approach nearer, but our Captain persisted in asserting, that there was no need of fearing them while we could keep the woods, we continued advancing till we came within about twenty five rods of the party, when coming to a swamp difficult to pass, we turned to the right a little, and passed the enemy's front, about thirty rods, who being alarmed at our appearance, stood to their arms, but neither hailed us, nor fired a shot. We now wheeled to retire from them, when we perceived a guard of their's, lying in the bushes, not more than three or four rods off, and found ourselves between them and the main body. It was my lot to discover this guard, and pointing them out to our captain, he ordered us to run, and turning again to the left, we were soon through the grove,



and now perceived a party on the opposite hill, and thinking them to be enemies, we conceived ourselves in critical circumstances, while on their part, they had been looking across the grove, and thought the enemy in sight to be Vose's party. On perceiving us, therefore, they sent two light horse men to us, and finding them friends, we gave them what information we could, respecting the enemy, on which they returned full speed to their party, who instantly pursued the enemy, and drove them back to Amboy. We endeavored to get up with this party, but they outwent us, and it drawing toward evening, we turned and went to Woodbridge, to see what had become of our Colonel; where getting information that he had returned to Connecticut Farms, we retired to look after our guard and waggon, &c. We found all safe, but it had got to be so late that we concluded it to be best to put up for the night, which we did, and setting sentries, we brought too and detained all travellers, black and white, to avoid discovery; and in the morning our Captain found his precaution had been of use, for a party of nearly 300 of the enemy, had encamped for the night, not more than half a mile from us.

We returned now to Connecticut farms, and found that the brigade had been dismissed the day before, and we receiving our discharge, as soon as our effects taken from the enemy could be disposed of, I purchased me a horse with my part of the money, and returned to Charlemont, in Massachusetts. I was now, in consequence of the fatigues I had undergone, so troubled



with the heart-burn, that at turns it took away my strength, and pretty much determined me not to have any thing further to do with the business of the army.

I therefore hired out for a year to Doctor Moses Eaton, of Charlemont, but when I heard of the retreat of our army under General St. Clair, from Ticonderoga, and of the progress of the enemy into the country, my old spirit and zeal for the cause, so operated on my mind, that I felt determined again to risk my life for it's support ; and the Doctor consenting to release me from my agreement, I engaged for six weeks with Capt. Samuel Taylor, of Col. Elisha Porter's regiment, and we marched to Fort Miller.

At Fort Miller, I heard that a brother of mine who lived at Queensborough, about twenty miles distant, had got so far discouraged with the repeated defeat of our troops, as to have given up his sentiments, and determined to take protection under the British. He had two of my younger brothers with him, the youngest of whom was about thirteen ; and the thoughts of him and them being put into a situation, hostile to the cause in which I had so often risked my life, affected me to that degree, that I determined to visit them if possible. Getting leave therefore of my officers, I travelled from More's Creek, where we were posted, a little above Fort Miller, to our out-posts, where General Learned's brigade lay, in the crotch of the Fort Ann road, and finding there the captain under whom I served the first eight months, he favored me with a small scouting party, under the command of a sergeant Shaddock, & we march-

ed that day to my brother's house in Queensborough. When we reached the house, my brother was in the woods after his cattle, and we had to wait for some time, exercised with considerable apprehension, for the enemy's scouts were very frequent at that time in those quarters. At length we blew the horn, and all three of my brethren soon came in. After considerable conversation with the eldest, in presence of the others, upon the folly of deserting a righteous cause, that must ultimately prevail, he became affected, immediately armed my two young brothers, and let them return with us; in addition to this, he agreed to meet me, (if I would come with a suitable scouting party to guard him,) at the house of his father-in-law, about two miles nearer to our camp, than his own house was, and to take his property with him, and put it under the protection of our army.

To evade the suspicion of the enemy, in case he was asked his reason for removing, we had agreed he should tell them, that his wife thought that her residence at her father's would be so much more free from alarms, than the tarrying in so remote a place as their house stood in, that he thought it best to gratify her by going. This agreement being completed, I returned with my two youngest brothers towards the camp, and when we had got within about a mile of it, we heard a firing of small arms, which proved to be indians firing upon our sentinels. This firing augmented our speed, and we soon reached the camp; where finding our troops paraded, we advanced and joined Capt. Maxfield's company, and one thing that gave me a

pleasure, which perhaps none but soldiers will fenlate like me, was, that my little brother, of thirteen years of age, kept up with me, and feveral times looking up faid, brother Lem. you muft fhew me how to do : i however had no opportunity to fhew him, for the enemy fpeedily retired, and our men performed little other fervice, than to pick up the bodies of fome of our poor fellows, who had been killed by the indians, one of whom, a fergeant Farrar, was found with his fingers cut off, his body fadly mutilated, and his head fcalped.

General Schuyler now gave orders for the army to retreat to the fouthward, and we marched that night from the out poft to Fort Edward.— The next morning I waited on both General Learned and General Nixon, and requested a scouting party, to enable me to fulfil my engagement with my brother, but I failed in thefe applications. This day we retreated down to More's Creek : in the morning I arofe early and went to General Schuyler's head quarters, whom I found writing general orders : looking up on my entering, he requested to know my bufinefs, I informed him of the fituation of my brother, and my agreement to efkort him and his property within our lines. The General heard me with attention, and immediately wrote a line to Col. Porter, ordering him to let me have fifty men, and on receiving the order, the regiment was paraded, and the number of men fpecified, with a Captain to command them, turned out as volunteers immediately, and we marched on to Fort Edward. At this place, I found, that either by the fuggeltions of fome

evil-minded person, or from some other unaccountable cause, the officers had conceived a suspicion that I was about to lead them into a snare. Alarmed at so injurious a thought, and feeling resentful, yet being exercised with great anxiety about a brother who was dear to me, I used every argument to assure them of my integrity, and told them I was ready to put my life in their hands, to be forfeited and taken whenever a treacherous trait should appear in my conduct. On this, after a little halt they agreed to proceed, but for our greater security, and to avoid the enemy's scouts as much as possible, it was decided on to take to the woods, which we did. When night came on we took the road again, and having to pass by a house then called Wing's, we observed a bright fire light, and knowing the owner to be a loyalist, we were apprehensive that some party of the enemy were there, and we afterwards learnt that our suspicions were well founded: we however passed on without interruption, and I soon reached the house where I expected to have found my brother, but greatly to my disappointment he was not there, and I could obtain no other satisfaction, than the pitiful consolation derived from upbraiding the parents of my brother's wife, as being the occasion of his changing sentiment, and in my opinion, the cause of his ruin. After venting my resentment I had to leave them however, and with the three men who had attended me to the house, returned to our party, when I earnestly requested of the Captain to grant me six men, to go the other two miles, to my brother's house,



but it was denied me, and I was constrained to return, with apparently as heavy a heart as if I had lost my brother.

After having lain inactive for a few days, we were again ordered to retreat, and without any great interruption, but through much fatigue, arrived at Saratoga, where we lay by for a few days longer, employed in getting our boats, &c. over the Rapids, and to make as saving a retreat as possible ; but our rear guard was often set so far back from the main body, and the light corps of the enemy were so close upon us, that the guard frequently suffered loss before they could obtain support from the main body, and sometimes were literally cut to pieces.

Here again it is impressed on my mind to be proper to mention, a singular preservation of providence, as it appeared with respect to myself. In getting our boats, &c. over the Rapids, from my intimate acquaintance with such business, and from a natural aptitude to exert myself to the utmost at trying times, I was so fatigued, that our captain would not consent to my going on guard in my turn, I being by no means well, and he being fearful of losing my needed services. A young man of the name of Daniel Jones, a worthy and desirable youth, was therefore ordered to mount guard in my stead, & like many others shared a solemn fate, being killed by the enemy, and the whole guard literally cut to pieces. On this event transpiring, I had many solemn contemplations, and sometimes secretly regretted that I had not stood in my own lot ; but a kind over-ruling Providence ordered otherwise, and I was yet preserved to experience many

perilous and afflictive scenes, by land and water, in my country's service.

We now retreated down to Stillwater, and the term of service for which our regiment enlisted being expired, we were dismissed, and I returned home through Dutch Hoosic, where we were informed of such appearances of spies in the meadows, &c. as caused us to have serious apprehensions for the safety of the inhabitants; but I continued my march home. On reaching my journey's end, I was solemnly struck with a perception of what God had been doing by his judgment in the way of sickness among the people: the ravages of death in the army had been evident, but it seemed to me as if the ravages by sickness had been greater.

Two days only had passed, after my return to Zear, before we received an alarm by express, and heard at the same time the roar of cannon and musketry from towards Bennington. I was in an ill state of health, and my observations on the equal dealings of God, in the camp, on my road, and at my home, had a very impressive and somewhat of an abiding influence on my mind: resigning myself therefore, with something of a sense of religious acquiescence in the divine disposal, I determined to do my duty, at every risk, as a citizen and a soldier, and endeavored to enspirit others to follow my example, and fly with me to the assistance of those whom I conceived to be in distress at Bennington. My neighbors, however, pretty universally, chose to wait for particular orders; which not suiting the impatience of my mind, I set out immediately, with three friends, viz. Sylvanus, Artemas and Mar-

tin Rice, to share the fortune of the day, if possible, with our assaulted friends.

We sat out but could not complete our journey across the mountain that night; laying by therefore for a few hours, but rising with the day, we pursued our course, expecting every minute to meet the fugitives from Bennington, flying before a superior and cruel enemy; but herein the mercy of Heaven displayed itself to our view, for when we had crossed over, we perceived signals of joy and rejoicing; the intrepid Col. Stark had been plumed with a most signal victory, a large party of the enemy were in captivity, and the terror of Bennington was turned into triumph.

I still remained much out of health, but finding a doctor in Bennington, from whom I received assistance, I went to Captain Ebenezer Allen, and once more tendered my service in the cause of my country, if he would accept of a man in my situation. He said he could not enlist me for he had no bounty money; I told him that I did not enlist from interested views, but was willing to engage, and to receive such compensation for my services as the country allowed; on which he received me, and from the purest of motives I again entered the military life, conceiving that while the righteous judgments of God were abroad in the land, my hard and flinty heart might be as easily softened in the camp as in the country; by the exhibition of blood and carnage, as easily as by languishing on beds of sickness; and indeed the dangers of war appeared less in my view, than the calamities of infection and disease exhibited at home.

I mentioned before my great distress arising from the heart-burn, and this was the affliction that pursued me still. On my tedious scouts it was sometimes distressing; it would take away my strength at times, and even deprive me of my sight: but this by way of digression. We tarried but a few days in Bennington before our regiment received orders to march to Arlington; here we lay for some time, frequently scouting about on the hunt for Tories, &c. but met but little success, the affair at Bennington having defeated their hopes and rendered them shy. From Arlington we marched to Manchester, & from thence in a few days to Pawlet. Here I met our surgeon, to whom I made known my case, telling him that unless I obtained speedy assistance it would certainly kill me: On this he told me to procure a buck's horn and burn it white, and then eat it at times when my disorder raged, and it would cure me. I followed his prescription carefully, and it had a very desirable effect, for in ten days time my complaint in a great degree left me, and I became more fit for duty than I had been for many months before.

Colonel Brown with a detachment of militia now passed through Pawlet, for Castleton, and we receiving orders to march, proceeded after and joined him at that place.— Here we received orders immediately to prepare for a march of five days, and the next morning set out on our march toward the Narrows of Lake Champlain, between Ticonderoga and Skeensborough. The march through the woods proving tedious, I was requested towards night to climb a large tree, that stood on a rise of ground, to see if the lake was in view from thence, or whether I could make any other discovery that would be serviceable or encouraging. This business I performed, but could make no discovery: pursuing our course therefore, with assiduity, we reached the lake by night, at the place we steered for, where, agreeably to our views, we found a party of our men, with boats, for our assistance, from Skeensboro'.

In the evening we took an enemy's boat with some white men and two negroes in it, whom we secured: next morning we crossed the Narrows, being about five hundred men, under the command of Colonels Brown and Herrick,



the latter of whom being quite out of health, requested me to join his family, and afford him assistance, in his weak state, with which request I readily complied.

We were now directed to shape our course through the wilderness again, towards lake George Landing, a distance of about fifteen miles, over an uncultivated wilderness seldom exceeded for its roughness; in this desert we had to encamp for one night. The next day we continued our march, till the officers thought fit to order us to halt, we being now in the neighborhood of the enemy: immediately upon coming to a halt, a few officers, with chosen pilots, went out to reconnoitre Mount Defiance, and an encampment of the enemy at Lake George Landing. These officers, &c. returned in the evening, and the consequence of their scouting was, that Captain Allen agreed, with his company, to scale Mount Defiance and dislodge the enemy from thence, while another party was to attack the encampment at the landing: Accordingly we all marched on together, but it being in the evening, and our numbers considerable, our progress through the woods was slow and difficult, and my task peculiarly arduous, as I had to assist Col. Herrick in carrying his pack, and constantly to be back and forth subservient to his orders.

On this march our men would often get scattered, and our rallying signal was a hoot, like that of an owl, which caused a pretty frequent apparent hooting of the owls that night, while we were scrabbling over logs and other impediments, and were frequently saluted with the jingling of rattle snakes, which was more terrific to many of us than the thoughts of the enemy: At length we discovered the light of torches on lake George, and concluding we were near the enemy, our officers ordered a halt, and concentrated their forces in the best manner we could.

Silence became necessary to effect our design, as surprise was our object; and it now becoming evident that some of our men had bad colds, and coughed often, to prevent injury arising from this quarter, orders were given to deposit our camp kettles here, and for those who had bad coughs to stay with them as a guard; but the cough in a short time became so frequent, that the orders were counter-

manded, and we all marched on together, Captain Allen soon proceeding directly up Mount Defiance, and the rest of us towards the Landing, the intention of our officers being to attack them in every part at the same period.

We came now to a little brook that ran down by the side of a hill, which hill intervened between us and the enemy's camp; at this brook we halted to refresh ourselves, it being now about day break, and our officers here held a short council, I being present as a necessary attendant to Colonel Herrick. Colonel Brown claimed as his privilege, the choice of his place of attack, and decided on taking the right, which was about eighty rods further than to close directly upon them from the left; Colonel Herrick acceded to Brown's proposition, but to his first motion Brown added, that he wished to take the rangers with him; to this Herrick objected, claiming the right of commanding his own men, but said he was willing to go round; Col. Brown desired him to proceed, and Herrick started on, desiring me to keep close by his side. On turning the point of a hill we were ordered to throw our packs in a heap, before we passed through a gap which led us directly into view of the enemy's encampment; we advanced through the gap, and being directly hailed by a centry, we ordered him to surrender, or he was a dead man: on which, without discharging his piece, he ran to a marquee, to inform his officers that the rebels were upon them: we now ran with all haste, two deep, to surround them, from the gap in the woods to the water, and Col. Brown, on the left, closed them in from the woods to the lake at the same time: their guard soon formed and commenced a smart firing on the left, which soon became general, when Col. Herrick gave orders for the whole party to face toward the enemy and advance: at this period the first company got into entire disorder, on which Col. Herrick called for the officers to form them instantly, but receiving no answer, he requested me to step and form them, which I did, and after exchanging a few shot with the enemy, their firing ceased. At this period a captain came up, and enquired what business I had with his men? I told him they were in disorder, and that the Col. commanded me to put them into order and lead

them on to the charge, which I had done : he said he could take care of his own men ; why did you not do it, sir, said I, in the heat of action ? he replied, that a ball struck the tender part of his knee and knocked him down. Not by any means wishing to pursue useless altercation, I gave up to him the command of the company, and returned to Col. Herrick ; but we never knew whether what the Captain said, with respect to a ball hurting his knee, was true or not : my persuasion was that it was not, for I never knew any person that saw a breach in his clothing, or a mark on his skin, occasioned by the ball he spoke of. I think it proper here to mention, that the reason of the company's being without an officer was, that the ensign fell with a wound upon the first fire of the enemy, and the lieutenant was not with the company at the time.

But to return again to my narrative, as I observed before the firing had now ceased, and the enemy finding themselves completely surrounded, surrendered themselves prisoners, to the number of about three hundred men. In this rencountre there were a few men wounded, but whether any were killed, on either side, I am not able to say.

After this affair was over, Col. Herrick ordered Major Wait to take fifty men and penetrate as far toward the old French lines as he thought would be prudent ; I requested leave to go with the Major, but the Col. desired me not to quit him. The Major immediately formed his party and marched off, and the Col. being busy in preparing a guard, and arranging the prisoners for a march, on some account or other pressed through a thick body of them, and they instantly closing, shut him from my view. Having thus lost sight of my Col. I sprung forward to overtake the Major, and had advanced about half a mile, when I heard the firing of Captain Allen's party commence on Mount Desiance, which seemed to give a new spring to my spirits, and a fresh pulse to my heart, and pushing forward with redoubled vigor, I soon met a few scattering prisoners, with a small guard from Major Wait's party, whom I quickly after overtook, On coming up to him, I told him that I had waited on the Col. hitherto, and was now come to claim the privilege of waiting on him for a while : but continued



I, your men are scattered, very much, in the rear, Major: I know it, says he, the men act as if the devil was in them. I wish you would step forward, Roberts, and act as an advance for me, continued he ; with this I instantly complied, and stepping forward, kept at the distance of three or four rods from the front. It was in this situation we were proceeding, when, the morning being exceeding foggy, I came close upon two British sentries, set to guard the boats at the bridge on the out-let of Lake George. When we discovered each other we were not more than two or three rods apart. They hailed me, and presenting my piece, I sprung upon them, telling them to surrender, or they were dead men : one of them gave up his gun, the other, without discharging his piece, sprung on board a covered boat, got under its cover, and shut to the door. I was in an instant after him, and turning the butt of my musket burst in the door, and ordered the sentry to deliver up his gun, which he did, and I made use of it afterwards in lieu of my own, which I had damaged very much in bursting open the door. The party now took charge of my prisoners, and marched immediately on, and having equipped myself anew, I followed them as speedily as possible. When I got up with them they were near a house, where the party had divided, one section having marched to the barn, under Major Wait, and the residue remaining to attack the house under the command of Lieutenant Lovell. Lovell, with his party kept at several rods distance from the house, and he exerted his lungs to the utmost, calling to them to turn out and surrender. This by no means suited my idea of soldiership ; it was giving them too great a chance to recover from their surprise, and to do us a material injury, that a more direct assault would at least have had a tendency to have prevented. To remedy this defect, therefore, I sprung forward, ran round to the door which was quartering from our assailing party, and had turned the breech of my gun to burst it, when it was thrown open by a soldier in his shirt, who presented his bayonet at my breast. Instantly turning my gun, and knocking his piece aside, I bid him immediately surrender, or he was a dead man ; as-



firing him of quarters if he surrendered: he seemed intimidated, but though I had knocked his gun aside, still kept it levelled, while the party within were mustering, some in the greatest apparent affright, others hurrying on their accoutrements to prepare for action. There was no time for further delay, I fired, the unfortunate soldier fell, the blaze and wad of my gun flew in among them, and fragments of the poor man's shirt (the charge driving again the chimney) scattered into both rooms, and greatly increased their consternation. Taking advantage of their terror, I clapped a new charge into my gun, and sprung in among them, ordering them out, sometimes presenting the muzzle, and sometimes the butt of my firelock, at the same time exerting my voice to the utmost, while the whole party turned out with great speed, and were received by our men at the door; not a man, to my knowledge, belonging to our party, but myself, having entered the house, till it was cleared of the British. One thing that affected me considerably was, soon after I entered the house, I was met by an old lady, who cried out, "Lord Jesus, don't kill us, you are a good man, don't kill us, don't kill us." I told her they must turn out, and not a man should be injured, and I soon found that I had cleared the house of between fifty and sixty men, who surrendered at discretion. In the mean time Major Wait had secured the centries at the barn, and released about an equal number of American prisoners, to the British we had taken in the house, and having rejoined Lovell's party received the prisoners at the door.

As soon as I left the house, Roberts, says the Major, take the command of the front, and guard off the prisoners you have taken, and I will bring up the rear. I replied, there are officers here, Major, and I am nothing but a waiter: to which he answered with an oath, to which he was too much addicted, you took them and you shall guard them off.

We now marched on towards the Landing, and here I must mention, that previous to my overtaking the Major and his party, after losing sight of my Col. as before mentioned; when he had taken the prisoners whom I met, and weakened his party by sending them off under guard, he

had sent to the Col. for a reinforcement, and Capt. Warner with a party of men, was dispatched to his aid: but when they reached the place where I had taken the two sentries, who guarded the enemy's boats, they perceived the party at the block house, on Mount Hope, to whom the sentries belonged, that I had taken, and immediately attacked them; the garrison perceiving Warner's superiority of numbers, marched out and had laid down their arms, at the instant when we came in sight, over the pitch of a hill. On seeing so many red coats, with a few of our men in front, and the prisoners whom we had released capering about in every direction, Warner concluded it was Wait's party in distress, and prepared for their reception: meantime the block-house party, who were about laying down their arms, conceiving it was relief for them, snatched up their arms, ran into the block-house, and firing upon Warner's company killed two of his men, and kept up a smart but ineffectual fire upon us, while we marched along nearly an hundred rods to the landing, to secure and send off our prisoners.

At the Landing I again found my Col. who called me to him, and entering a house presented me with some spirits, of which I drank, and which was the first refreshment I had tasted, since we halted at the little brook, before the commencement of the first action. Captain Warner now reached the Landing, having left his company on a height near the block-house, and applied for a reinforcement and a field-piece, to render the capture of the block-house the more certain. Col. Herrick replied to the Captain's request, that the men were so scattered he hardly knew how to grant him a reinforcement, but if I could be of any service to him he would spare me, and would send on a field-piece as soon as possible.

When I reached the height, which was about one hundred rods from the block-house, I found that Warner's company, in the absence of their captain, had got entirely dispersed, only two or three men remaining on the hill, with the bodies of the two dead men. In a short time however a field piece came on, with a gunner and a few men to manage it, and soon after our soldiers collected, and we

put ourselves in a regular posture to commence the attack. At this instant the commanding officer of the block-house appeared on its out-side, and waved his cap, making a signal, indicating that he wished to be admitted to a parley, with us, down at the mills below us ; to this two Captains who had joined us consented, by answering signs, and I attended them down to the mills, to hear the message.

After a little introductory chat, the British officer requested liberty to go to the hill to view our force, and our captains consented, on which we all sat out for the hill together. On reaching the hill, and making a pretty close inspection, the officer requested permission to visit his post and consult with his men, to which our polite captains very courteously assented ; on which an ensign Safford, who was present at this conclusion of the parley, observed, that he must confess it was a new thing in the history of wars to him, to admit an enemy to view your forces, and arrangements, and then to permit him to return and profit in opposition by the advantages thus gained. One of the Captains observed, that he believed he understood the rules of war as well as Safford : but Safford continuing to dispute the propriety of the measure, I at length interfered, and being convinced that Safford was in the right, and the procedure of the Captains unwarrantable, I observed to him, never mind it Safford, let them send the gentleman back, if they think best, and if he has a mind to risk it ; but if he does, we will make a riddle of his skin before he gets ten rods.

My address to Safford being delivered aloud, before them all, I observed the British officer swelled with agitation for a minute or two, and then shedding a few tears, he advanced a little, and swung his cap towards his men, who attending, marched to the mill unarmed, and we immediately took possession of the arms, and putting the prisoners under a proper guard, marched them to the landing.

Having adjusted these businesses at the Landing, we immediately marched, with a considerable party and a field piece, to the French lines, and began from thence to fire upon Ticonderoga. It must here be observed, that when we marched to attack the enemy at the Landing, Blockhouse,



&c. Colonel Warner was to march around in the other direction, to attack Mount Independence. When we began firing on Tr' they strove to bring their artillery to bear upon us from Mount Independence, and some of their shot struck our breast works at the old lines, but did us no injury. One ludicrous event here occasioned considerable sport, our doctor feeling considerably valiant, perhaps from having taken an exhilarating drop or two too much, determined to quit the security of the hospital for a while, to share the dangers of the field, and accordingly came to us at the lines; but when the firing began from Mount Independence, the doctor laid down under the breast works, and just at that time a ball from the enemy ploughed up the rampart near him, and completely buried the valiant doctor, but after a few minutes toil we uncovered him again and sent him in safety back to his gally pots.

Major Whitcomb with two others and myself, now tho't proper to take a scout, and see what discoveries we could make, or what prizes we could obtain; accordingly we advanced towards the enemy, along the water side, under cover of a bank, until arriving opposite old Tr', we rose the bank, in full view of their lines, and within short musket shot, and ran about six rods, to a hut; where pulling off a board from the back side, we perceived merchant goods, the door being open in front, within about fifty rods of the enemy, who stood paraded on the walls. On sight of the goods, however, Whitcomb and the two others ran round, got in at the door, and soon loaded themselves with plunder, the enemy from the walls playing upon us all the while, as fast as they could load and fire. I thought the attempt of getting in and out at the door, without attempting in some way to check the fire of the enemy, was too hazardous; business; and therefore, making a breastwork of an old chimney which stood near the hut, I gave them a salute, which they returned, and I exchanged seven shot with them, while my comrades were securing and running off with their plunder, when the enemy jumped off the breastwork, within their lines, and I went to the hut, got into it through the back side, and throwing out a large rese blan-



ket, filled it with the best I could find, as full as I thought I could conveniently carry it, and then made off with my booty as fast as possible, the enemy constantly firing upon me while I remained in sight, but without effect.

Our rangers now returned to Lake George Landing, leaving one Captain Benjamin, with a company of militia, at the French lines. Here the boats of the enemy kept coming in, not knowing of the taking of their garrison, and we secured them as fast as they came, till we had captured almost all their water craft belonging to the Lake, and at last there came in a little boat loaded with potatoes, with two or three men in her, among whom was a Mr. Terry. This Terry appearing to be much of a gentleman, our officers admitted him and his crew to their paroles. Concluding now that we were able to command the Lake, our Col. manned out a sloop, a gun boat, and a number of batteaux, and sat out to take Diamond island, having sent our prisoners across the way that we came, to Skeensborough, and directed our plunder to be carried by water, passing the British shipping on Lake Champlain, to the same place, and all arrived in safety. We progressed on our intended expedition, only as far as Sabbath day Point that evening, being put to much difficulty to get into a harbor, as the afternoon and night proved very windy and rainy; to add to our perplexity, our parole gentlemen, with the potatoe boat, who had agreed to keep under the stern of Col. Herriek's boat, before we reached the point, made their escape, and we had no doubt would put the enemy on their guard against us.

The next morning the weather continuing uncomfortable, I arose early and prepared breakfast for the Colonel's mess, but our officers seemed to be so much disconcerted on account of the escape of our potatoe boat, (not doubting but our run-away parole gentlemen, by divulging our plans, would render us an essential injury,) that we lay almost the whole day inactive. At length having come to a decision to proceed, we rowed on till we reached an island within about six miles of the enemy, where we landed for the night, and the next morning sat out for the attack of Diamond island.

Here the sloop and gun boat were destined to cover the landing of the party on one side, while the batteaux were sent round to attempt a landing by some means on the other part of the island, the militia having their choice of the point of attack. We soon found to our cost, that our apprehensions with respect to the enemy's getting notice of our approach, were well founded; for they were prepared for our reception at all points, and plied their cannon to so good advantage, that we were constrained to retire, leaving of our boats, and even committing some of our wounded men to their mercy. Our loss, however, though distressing, was by no means very considerable.

Leaving Diamond island, and having gained the eastern shore, we prepared ourselves for a march in the best manner we could, designing to lay our course once more thro' the woods, to Skeensborough. In this tour it became necessary for each man to carry what he could, as we had considerable booty with us in the boats, which had been previously taken. My pack, when I reached Skeensboro' weighed ninety seven pounds, besides my gun, ammunition, and accoutrements, which made the whole amount to one hundred and nineteen pounds. This knowledge I obtained from the circumstance, that our packs were weighed on our arrival at Skeensborough, to decide on what each man had a right to receive, as a recompence for the labor he had performed: on reaching this place it was decided on, to divide our booty according to the allowance of rations, which threw a great proportion of it into the hands of our officers, and did considerable injustice to many, who had greatly risked their lives in its acquisition.

From Skeensborough we marched to Pawlet, where we were stationed, until General Gates sent for us, to assist in endeavoring to surround and capture General Burgoyne, at Saratoga. In this memorable transaction we were situated to the north of the British army, and closed down upon it at the period of its surrendery. After the capitulation, I viewed attentively, both the British army and their adherents, the loyalists, among the latter of whom I found many of my old neighbors and acquaintance. The sight of these men, in so undesirable circumstances, gave me many serious

reflections ; while I despised their principles and practices, I could not help feeling for their misfortunes : exercised with these feelings I observed to one of them, a Mr Ephraim Jones, how unhappy it was, that old neighbors and friends should entertain sentiments so adverse to each other : that they should become so embittered as to seek to take each others' lives, or, as in the present instance, to make them prisoners, banish them from their native country, and separate many of them from near relations and affectionate friends. It so happened that Mr. Jones did not entertain sentiments exactly coincident with mine, or I was not happy enough to communicate my thoughts so cordially, as to avoid giving offense : He even received my address to him as an insult, than which nothing was more foreign from my intentions.

It was now ordered that Col. John Stark, the hero of Bennington, should take charge of the loyalists, to deliver them at Lake George Landing, pursuant to the article of capitulation respecting them, and our corps composed a part of the necessary guard. Having executed this duty we marched to Pawlet, where we received an honorable discharge, and I once more paid a visit to my old friends in Bennington.

Here I engaged as a hand, to assist in building a large store, and continued in this employ until the beginning of January, 1778, at which time Col. Herrick came to me and said, Roberts will you engage to go as a scout upon an important business ? I answered, if the public good requires it, Col. I am devoted to your command, and the service of my country, and will exert myself to the best of my abilities. I want you to take three men, says he, and go to Lake Champlain, to St. Johns, to see whether the enemy keep their shipping cut out, or whether they are frozen in. I told him I had rather not take the command, but go as an assistant ; he asked me to chuse a companion, and I named one Samuel Rice, a brave young soldier, and a true hearted American, and the Col named James Hill and Abner Blanchard ; we accordingly agreed to go, and as an encouragement, warrants were made out to us, entitling us to commissions, one as a Captain, and the other three

as Lieutenants, with double pay, and double rations, to compensate us for the risking of our lives, and the endurance of unavoidable fatigue. And the intention of the General was, that a regiment should be raised in our absence, in which, on our return, we should enter on the discharge of the duties of our commission. Accordingly the business of recruiting a regiment commenced, but was not prosecuted, as the expedition contemplated was never carried on to perfection.

We now prepared to set out on our hazardous enterprise, and perhaps few, if any companies, ever undertook a business with a more cordial agreement, or with more cordial friendship. As an evidence of this I will state one fact, we met at the house of Colonel Nathaniel Brush, and agreeably to my request, drew lots for the Captaincy, which fell to Samuel Rice, the youngest man among us: and he accepted of it on the express condition of each man sharing equally in the emoluments derived from the expedition.

On the 12th of January, 1778 Capt. Rice received his orders from the then Brigadier General Stark, which was in the form following, viz.

SIR,

*You are hereby requested, without loss of time, to proceed on down Lake Champlain, there to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy's shipping. the strength of the ice, &c. with the fortress of St. John's, and make a return to Col. Samuel Herrick, who will deliver this to your hand.*

*Given under my hand this 12th day of January, 1778.*

JOHN STARK, B. General.

To Capt. Samuel Rice.

On receipt of this order we immediately set out, and reached Newhaven Falls, now called Vergennes. without meeting with any thing worthy of notice: this first tour we performed in sleighs. Here swinging our packs, and taking to our snow shoes we marched down that day to Shelburn. The next day, travelling chiefly on the ice, we passed down on the eastern side of the Grand Isle, and on our way meeting with three or four friendly inhabitants,



who informed us, that they had received certain information of a British scout being on the coast: This put us more circumspectly on our watch, and we soon discovered their track.

When it grew towards night, it was very snowy, and we approached a small island, called Welden's island, on which we intended to pass the night, but here again we discovered our gentlemen, or at least found where they were, by their fires. On this we immediately fell back, being as we conceived, undiscovered by them, and laid our course for the eastern shore. The night coming on and the storm encreasing, we soon lost sight of the island, and getting on shore we penetrated a swamp, where we encamped for the night, but the storm encreasing we had a very uncomfortable night, and what was the worst of all, our guns got so completely wet, as to be rendered for the time useless as firearms.

In the morning it was very heavy snow-shoeing, yet we concluded upon starting, though our efforts were toilsome and our progress slow. Striking Georgia Bay, we determined to venture across it to S. Albans Point, and having got a considerable distance from the shore, we discovered two men on Bellamy's bay, and thinking we were too far out to make a safe retreat, being apprehensive they might give intelligence respecting us to scouting parties, if they should fall in with any, I told my comrades that I thought it was best, as the men seemed to be steering for an island then in view, to follow them up close, let them get on the other side of the island, and then run suddenly upon them; this we did, and the men surrendered themselves prisoners.

Upon examining them we found that they were going to the British; and concluding that it was not safe for us to let them go on, we conversed with them, and rather than be subjected to inconvenience, they promised to behave well, and Mr. Blanchard took charge of them, to convey them back to Parsons's in Shelburne,

We came with Mr. Blanchard and the prisoners from the north to the south side of the island, where we took our leave of them, and designing to make but one track, we marched in indian file, Hill, being the smallest man, leading,

Rice following with great precision, and myself, being the largest of the company, followed their track with the utmost caution, in order to elude the vigilance of pursuers, or deceive them, if possible, and thus we travelled on to the shore of St. Albans Point.

At the south shore of the Point we tied on our snow-shoes, and proceeded on as before, still making but one track in crossing over to the north side, where we came to a marsh, between which and the Lake, the snow had drifted so as to form a bank, like a wall; over this bank we crossed, and sat down on a pine log projecting from the bank toward the lake: Here we consulted on what it was most prudent to do, and the result was that we pulled off our snow shoes, determining that we would recross the bank, make a fire, and dry ourselves, our arms, ammunition, &c. but to our great surprise, while we were in so undesirable a situation as to be unable to fire a shot, we heard the sound of voices near us, and looking up saw seven men coming down a small point towards us, and within about eight rods of us.

In this critical juncture, Captain Rice requested me to take command: instantly I ordered, *take trees the whole!* springing myself behind a small pine, while they each took to a large one that stood on the shore, placing ourselves on the defensive. The opposing party demanded of us who and whence we were, and I told them we were continental soldiers; they in return informed us they were our enemies, and ordered us to lay down our arms; to this challenge I replied, that we were not likely to be in their hands, but they in our's; ordering them to surrender instantly: and jumping on to the bank, called aloud. *Capt. Allen, advance on the right! Capt. Sawyer, on the left!* and then sprung to my tree again. For a few moments they paused, as if irresolute what to do, but after firing upon us several times, without receiving a return, and finding no parties appeared, they began to advance, and we were obliged to surrender ourselves prisoners.

Our loyalists, as these men proved to be, marched with us to Point au Fair that night, and the next morning we were sent, under guard, to the Isle aux Noix, where we

were examined by a British lieutenant in a very rough manner. He first examined me, and his language was so impolite, that I gave him very short answers, without any solicitude about pleasing, giving him every piece of intelligence respecting our army, which he enquired after, in its most provoking form; on his enquiring about the battle of Monmouth, I told him *all I know of the matter, Sir, is, that our most intelligent papers state, that in a few days, if Clinton continues on his present route, our army have great hopes they shall Burgoyne him.* Burgoyne him, G—d—them, says he; then they call it *Burgoyning of him do they.* Yes, please your honor says I, *that is the name our printers give it.* His passion at length so far exceeded his curiosity, that he ordered me away in a very rough manner. Afterwards each of my comrades underwent a pretty similar examination, which terminated much in the manner mine had done, and very little indeed to the satisfaction of our examiner.

From this post we were sent on to St. John's; and being halted at a distance from the fort, notice respecting us was forwarded to the garrison. In a short time an officer came to us from the fort, bringing three napkins, with which we were blind folded, and thus conducted we knew not whither, until we found ourselves in a small room, within the garrison. Here the blind folds were taken off, and the British officers of the garrison treated us very politely. After a short time we were again blindfolded, and taken one mile from the fort, before we were permitted to see, when Mr. Terry, who ran away with our potatoe boat, breaking his parole as before mentioned, came up and spoke to me, and made himself known, I having forgotten his face. On his making himself known, I upbraided him for his breach of faith, and he told me that I must not judge too hard of him, as all the interest he had in the world was on Diamond Island, and the intelligence he carried respecting us, was, in all probability the means of preserving it.

We were now sent on to Chamblee, where as we were marching up to the gate of the fort, two soldiers who stood by it, looked hard at me, and one observed to the

other, there is the man who killed Billy Donovan, at Portash; that being the name which the British had given to the place, near Lake George, where it fell to my lot to kill a poor unfortunate fellow, and clear the house of a large number of his comrades, as before mentioned.

The next day we were sent on to Montreal, where we were brought before general Powell, who after giving us a slight and abrupt examination, concluded by saying, "*take the rebel rascals away, let them go to Mr. Jones, at the provost; their heads shall each of them make a button for a halter.*"

From this imperious officer's quarters we were conducted to the provost, being frequently visited in our prison, by old acquaintances, belonging to the corps of loyalists, some of whom used us very indecently, others with neighborly attention and good manners: In the course of our tarrying at Montreal we underwent frequent examinations, before different persons, but they obtained very little satisfaction from us.

In the prison at Montreal, we received some ill usage, and a few threats, and to cap the whole business of insult, one day the sergeant of the guard came into the prison, bringing two pairs of hand-cuffs, which he said were for Rice and me, if we did not behave ourselves, and added that we had got to march to Quebec. On this, the fellow who usually officiated as the hangman, came in, and feigning something like crying, told us that he had come to crave our forgiveness, on having received orders to go to Quebec to hang us: in return I told him to be gone and drove him out of the room. Soon after we were marched for Quebec, and having progressed about twelve miles, they procured carriages, and we rode the rest of the way.

Here we again passed several examinations, and were ultimately delivered over to the provost, and once more lodged in prison. After lying in this prison for a week or two, they proposed to put us out to billet, we giving our paroles that we would not escape.

We had concluded on escaping from them, should providence favor us with an opportunity, and therefore were



resolved not to claim any title as officers, especially as we had received no commissions, and consequently objected to this mode of procedure.

We told them therefore, that we did not esteem ourselves officers, and of course should not conceive our paroles to be binding; to which those who presented the written paroles replied, that they did not care how we conceived of it, if we would sign them, and relieve them from the trouble of attending us; on which we signed them, and they carried us out twenty three miles into the island of Orleans, where they put us out to billet. Here we found twenty or thirty other prisoners, among whom were Col. Pellingier and Major Fry, from the Mohawk river. The prisoners here were under the care of a British officer, who had the command of the Cambden militia, and who had two waiters to attend him. At this place we stayed peaceably till some time in March, when hearing from the Canadian militia that our troops had got to St. Johns, and St. Francois, we concluded we could in some way get to them, and accordingly sat out one evening, the snow being nearly six feet deep, but it would bear pretty well in the open fields.

We run off the island of Orleans on the western side, keeping up toward Quebec, which we approached within a mile or two; then leaving it to the left, we struggled on, sometimes in the snow up to our arm pits, and sometimes borne on the crust, across the open country. At length our foremost man was out of sight in a moment; the next as suddenly followed him, and I stepping briskly up to see what had become of them, shared their fate, and fell precipitately down a steep bank, or drift, at least ten feet in height, where we found ourselves all together but received no injury. We again rose and pursued on, till at length getting to the road on the plains of Abraham, (having passed the city of Quebec about two miles) and it being now near day light, we perceived the trains and carry-alls began to move. It appeared necessary, therefore, for us to quit the road, and taking across the fields to a point of woods, (though near to a house,) there being a thicket of spruce bushes there, we ventured to take

our abode in them for the day, though the cold was extreme, and we dare not kindle a fire.

In this exigence, to prevent freezing, we trod and beat down a deep hole into the snow, then breaking off boughs and putting them down, we spread one blanket under and the rest over us, and there we laid till evening, thus keeping ourselves from absolutely suffering by the severity of the weather.

In the evening we renewed our march, and kept along the back side of the fields, till we came to where the road went into the woods; but here being near to a house or two, and a company of young folks appearing to be walking to the woods and back to the house, with several dogs barking around, we thought it impossible to get into the road without being discovered: we therefore had no other resource, but to break through the point of the woods, where we became almost covered with the snow, and our laboring through this difficulty, cost us almost inconceivable toil: at length however, coming to the road, across this point of woods, we made the most speedy advance possible, and towards day reached the village of Point au Tremble; but here observing that the carryalls began to be moving again, we were once more constrained to concert measures of secrecy, having, with all our toil, only gained a distance of about sixteen miles, by reason of our numerous and severe obstructions.

The cold was still so intense, that I was fearful of perishing, if we did not obtain some sort of shelter: in our perplexity, therefore, I mentioned to my comrades, that there was a house then in view, where I had been once billeted, and I thought it was better to venture in there, than to risk perishing in the open air: but my companions were not willing to comply. I then urged the propriety of making for the barn, and secreting ourselves there; but to this they likewise objected, urging, that I was very apt to snore in my sleep, and as soon as I fell into a slumber we should be liable to be discovered, if any person should come to, or pass by the barn: finding it impossible for us to agree to seek shelter in the house or barn, we took back to the woods, about a mile, but now

my comrades began to cry out that they should certainly freeze to death if they did not kindle a fire : I told them if we kindled a fire we should more certainly freeze : but they could not be persuaded to desist, and we accordingly kindled a fire, and in some measure thawed our clothes, but no sooner did we quit our fires, than the wet clothes became so uncomfortable, that we each of us suffered some by the frost.

In the morning, at sun about two hours high, the Canadians began to come out after wood : previous to which, our smoke being probably discovered, one of them came out on snow shoes, steering towards our fire till he discovered us ; then he attempted to change his course and retire : but we ordered him to come to, which he did. Seeming to be a simple Canadian, we conversed with him upon our circumstances, and endeavored to buy his snow shoes of him ; but to this he objected, stating that it would probably be the means of our detection, as his neighbors would ask him what had become of them. We acceded to the propriety of his observations, and he professing friendship for us, and promising to keep our council, we let him go.

The teams now beginning to pass at no great distance from us, we concluded to remove a little, to find a more safe place to lay in ; which we accordingly did, and reaching a spot where the descent was considerable, though gradual to the south, and the sun coming out clear, it seemed as if we may here enjoy comfort, and as we hoped security : though we could look down on the settlement to which I had been formerly sent to have the small pox, and were within about five miles of the house of the friend which I wished to have reached the night before.

Here we concluded to tarry until evening and then run in to the settlement, to my old friend's house, and act as circumstances may require ; but to our great chagrin our pleasing views were soon interrupted ; for while Rice and myself were taking a nap, Mr. Hull getting up to mend his mockasin, suddenly exclaimed "hark ! I hear somebody talk : I arose in an instant, and soon heard them, and in a short time, coming within about three rods of us, they hailed us very sharply, on which starting up, and

seeing our pretended friendly Canadian among their number, we became fully assured of their being after us, and finding it to be impossible to escape, we surrendered at discretion.

Our captors took us into the settlement, and carried us to the very house at which we had aimed to call, where we found a number of loyalists, under the command of Capt. Ephraim Jones, the man whom I mentioned as taking offence at me, for speaking to him of the apparent horror of friend being set against friend, as before recited, on meeting him at Saratoga; and who, contrary to the articles of capitulation had again returned into service. As soon as he saw me, he upbraided me again for insulting him when a prisoner: and I again, (as I had previously, and with truth) averred, that I had no such intention: I however told him I was now in his hands, and he may use me as he saw best; and whether my address to him had any influence on him, or not, I cannot tell, be it as it may, he did not use us with great severity, but went with us, with the commander of the Canadians who took us, back to Quebec.

Here we were received by the commissary of prisoners, and sent before the Governor, and again delivered over to the provost master, whose principal aim in our examination seemed to be, to find out who had supplied us with provisions, to enable us to attempt an escape, promising that none of us should be injured by the disclosure: but of this perfidy we were incapable: rather chusing to undergo any thing in their power to inflict, than to betray so good a friend. On the whole, upon lodging us in the prison, the provost master said, you have done nothing in reality criminal, and I shall not put you in irons. With this address he bid us good bye, and left us once more to our own reflections.

We were now again in close prison for about two weeks, and altho' on some accounts, it was undesirable, there was one in which it favored us, viz. it gave time and opportunity for our frost bitten limbs to get well. After about two weeks, the commissary of prisoners coming in, says to me, "Mr. Roberts, I recollect you told me, that you esteemed your parole, given as a private soldier, not to be binding; I do not believe you would, so esteem your word of honor." I told him I should not. Well, continued he, then if you will give me your word, that you will not attempt to escape from us, you shall return again to your old quarters. I asked him if he supposed we should be exchanged in the spring: I will give you my word, says he, that as soon as the river is navigable, by being freed



from the ice, you shall sail for exchange. On that condition, Sir, I replied, I will give you my word not to attempt to escape from you, till the time you mention : and each of my comrades giving him the same assurance, we here ended our friendly negotiation.

Carriages were soon provided, and we were conveyed to our old quarters, where according to our promise, we tarried peaceably until the water craft began to move on the river, and of course until the incumbrance of the ice was removed. By this time there was quite a number of prisoners at our post, and myself and comrades began to plan a new means of escape. Not willing however to subject ourselves to the imputation of dishonorable procedure, we agreed not to start till the contract was decidedly violated on the part of our enemies : we therefore fixed as a criterion, (our provisions being nearly exhausted,) to wait till our present supplies were gone ; and if then they sent on any considerable quantity, for future consumption, it should be the ground on which we would decide ; and we would, after that, leave them the first convenient opportunity.

The names of those who were now concerned in my plan, were Blanchard, Rice, Hill, Osgood and Evans ; we were not long in suspense, for after we had fixed this business, a number more of prisoners, with a fortnight's provision for the whole, arrived at our quarters ; upon which we again fixed on a night, made the best preparations our circumstances would allow, and I fixed a signal for them to give to me, when all was in readiness, after which I went to bed, but not to sleep ; vainly listening to the terrors of a very boisterous night : but the appointed signal at my window was never-given to me, and my company escaped without me, notwithstanding the tempest, and got safely home.

It is perhaps impossible for me to describe my feelings in full, on meeting with this disappointment ; I knew not to what to ascribe my being left ; and sometimes felt enraged with the whole of them, sometimes dejected, and the whole time much agitated : their escape soon became the general topic of conversation, and I said to some of the prisoners, that if I could get any to join me I would see who would get home first, and two men of the name of Divine and Haskill, immediately joined me, but being disappointed with respect to procuring a compass, our intention of escaping, was, for that night, frustrated.

The next day there was a great commotion among us, our houses were closely watched, and patrols traversed the streets : Pretending to be surprized at the movements, Mr. Divine and myself went to see our Col. and Major, to enquire into the cause of the bustle, when we found, that one Bigford, a prisoner with us, had informed a British officer, that I was planning an escape with a number of others ; that I was to command the party, who meant to disarm some of the Canadians, and return as a scouting party to our army. Finding that Bigford had really been guilty of this meanness, I went in search of him, and after a while, to his sorrow, I found him ; for I did not leave him, till (as far as a sound drubbing would go,) he had reason to repent of his treachery. This procedure caused Mr. Divine and myself to be taken that night, and carried to the main guard in Quebec, and the next morning to the provost, and from thence, in a few days, on board of a British frigate, where we found Capt. Fry Bailey, Lieutenants John Powel, and Nehemiah Lovell, against whom Bigford had likewise operated, by informing, that they were to be of my scouting party. On board this ship, we fared the hardest for provisions that we had done in any instance ; but happily our stay on board of her was but short, for in a few days we were removed on board the Maria, with all the rest of our prisoners, the Colonel and Major excepted, who were admitted to their paroles.

I laid several fruitless plans to effect an escape, at length, I concluded to adopt one, if I could get any of our men to join me. Our guard were one day British, and the next Hessians, who came on board from the shore daily, and my plan was, when the Hessians were upon duty, to improve a time, steal the ship's boat, and attempt an escape ; and some agreed, that if we did not sail for exchange, by a certain time, they would at all hazards join me ; yet when the time had expired, their hearts failed them, though they with myself, received many abuses from some villainous loyalists ; who, as far as respected me, generally got their change, as I thought in full ; but it grieved me exceedingly to think my scheme was defeated.

A little while after this a number of prisoners were brought in from Detroit, among whom was a Mr John Dodge, formerly a merchant at that place ; who on suspicion of being in confederacy with Congress, for the reduction of Canada, had been most barbarously used by governor Hamilton, and who after suffering almost every thing human nature could endure

in their dungeons, had been tried for his life, and was still holden in duress, to await the ultimate award of his tyrants : this man and seven others agreed to join me, and to attempt an escape, at the risk of their lives, and the night was set when our resolve should be executed.

I must here remark that the tide served but about one night in two weeks to carry us up the river, so that our time was critical. When this night came I had made every preparation in my power : one of the centries sat by the mainmast, apparently asleep, the other was stepping very slowly on the quarter deck : I called on my company, but death stared them so immediately in the face, that only two of them would venture, and we three not being sufficient to stand any chance, if discovered, were obliged, with heavy hearts, to give up our design.

I now almost gave up the hopes of effecting an escape, but Mr. Holmes, one of the two who would have run any risk with me, as before mentioned, now spirited up eleven men, who engaged to join in another attempt, come life or death. The set night again came ; the captain being on shore oars were in the boat, that she may be ready at his call ; our usual privilege was, to keep a candle burning till nine o'clock, but at this time the rule was not rigidly enforced, and we wished for darkness ; seven out of my eleven men had fallen back ; and to add to our chagrin, Dodge and some others, among our fainthearted, having that day received money, had got some rum and a pack of cards, and kept insisting upon playing one game after another, till my patience was totally exhausted ; we being all ready, but not daring to stir, while a single man, except those in our confidence, could possibly see us. At last I told my four friends, in a low whisper, to lay their hands on their packs, and start when the candle went out, for the lumber port, and then with my hat I knocked out the candle, and all was total darkness. Getting to the lumber port myself, I found there three of my companions, the other I left engaged in taking leave of his friend. I crept out of the lumber port, reaching a tender, or rope hung to the side of the ship, with a firm coil at the lower end, designed to prevent the boat from dashing against the ship's side : on this fender I hung, with my toes on its coil, and reaching the rope that held the boat, drew her up under the port, and then still keeping one foot on the coil, and placing the other on a seat of the boat, I took my jack-knife, which I had holden all the time in my mouth, and as soon as my comrades, now only three in number were in, I cut her loose, pushed her gently



from the ship's side, and as still as death drifted with the tide up the river.

Here I must mention, that the night was dark, windy, and something rainy, yet our escaping undiscovered, was almost miraculous; it was to be sure difficult to discern objects by looking down on the water, but as I looked up I could see both sentries and my head was not more than four feet below that of one of them, (while I hung upon the fender) who was walking on the same side of the ship within, to which I hung without, and only the ship's side between us. The other sentry was also very plain in my sight, and the ship's watch awake looking out for events with vigilance; yet at this time providence favored our plan, and we escaped undiscovered, passing them as the tide drifted us, and as before observed, without daring to row a stroke.

After drifting out of the harbor, we manned three oars, one of us attending to steering, and there being but four in the whole, viz. one Holmes, Blackman, Pue, and myself. We in this manner exerted ourselves to the utmost, amidst the perils and uncomfortable scenes of a tempestuous night, and in a short time reached the eastern shore, being, as we judged, at this time, about six miles from the ship; but here we experienced a most distressing disappointment indeed, for when we came to prepare to swing our packs we found mine was missing being in our hurry left in the ship, in which was much the greatest part of our provisions, and what was vastly more important and discouraging to us, it likewise contained our compass. I however encouraged them, telling them not to be discouraged, for as providence had favored us with a safe passage to the land, we should esteem it as a token that fortune would be on our side, and we should succeed in our attempts.

We now made the best of our way to the woods, and having got a little distance therein, our first business was to examine our store of provisions, which we found to consist of about two pounds and a half of pork, and fourteen hard sea biscuits, which, considering our necessity to expend it as prudentially as possible, we calculated should last us seven days, being an allowance of half a biscuit a man per day.

On account of this our scantiness of provisions, I proposed to keep near in with the inhabitants, that if providence favored us, we might on our way replenish our stores, but the general voice of the company was against me, their dread of being retaken surmounted every other consideration, my motion was consequently over-ruled, and we betook ourselves to the woods,



depending greatly on the favors of a kind protecting providence, though vastly too insensible of the reality of our dependence.

At the particular and universal request of the whole company, I undertook the conducting of the march, steering wholly by the sun when the weather was clear, but erring most egregiously when it was cloudy, as we found by unhappy experience in the result; stinting ourselves to our half biscuit per day, with only one or at most two mouth-fulls of pork, which were cut as carefully, and touched off or allotted as critically, as if it had been an immense treasure. In this manner we proceeded the first seven days, when we still found ourselves in a dreary wilderness, our provisions expended, and our only resource the unfailing beneficence of providence. We still endeavored to keep our course, subsisting on leeks and a few roots which we sometimes found, and the inside of the bark of white pine; of which latter substance we obtained supplies, by means of the jack-knife which I have before had occasion to mention, till one day wanting a fresh supply, and making enquiry for the knife, we found that it was lost, and our regret and almost absolute despondence on the occasion, can be more easily conceived than related.

We now had to pass several days of severe toil and hunger, sustained by the hopes that we had got nearly through; yet even these hopes were weak and uncheering, for once or twice in cloudy weather, in the sunken flat country, we had perceived tracks on the moss, and every moment feared the assault of indians; till at length coming to some objects we recollected, we found to our surprise we had got upon our old back track, and had to retrace our steps again with heavy hearts.

One day in our progress through a swamp, I picked up a large bull-frog, and killed it, but our punk had got so wet that we could not at that time kindle a fire, to dress it, and we had not then got near enough to starving to enable us to eat it raw; it was frequently proposed for us to try, but our stomachs as often revolted, so that after carrying it along, for a considerable distance, we threw it away.

On the thirteenth day of our march, and the 6th of our being without any provisions, except roots and bark, we came to the side of a river, which according to the account we had received of the geography of the country, we concluded was the Connecticut river, as we had previously forded two rivers, which we conceived to be the forks of the St. Francois: we had also found some small streams, in which, by diligent search,

we obtained a few clams, some of which we roasted, and some took raw, but they appeared to yield very little sustenance.

One day after we got to the river, we caught a small mud turtle, and our punk being now dry, we kindled a fire, and roasted the creature in the shell, and it suppld us with one little mouthful apiece, being carefully divided and touched off, as interestedly as if it had been an invaluable patrimony.

In our march along the river, we also one day came to a camp, where we found a string of moose meat, weighing probably about two pounds; but it had lain so long exposed to the weather, that it had become nearly as hard as wood: we however got it so far to pieces, as to be able to swallow it, but the voiding of it put us into very severe distress.

On the sixteenth day of our march, the third of our following the river, the naturally intrepid soldier, Holmes, gave out entirely, Blackman was not in a much better condition, and even Pue and myself were so enervated by toil, and crippled by travelling, that we were scarce able to walk: we therefore lay by on Holmes's account, Blackman laid down with him, Pue exerted himself in collecting fuel, and making a fire, while I waded into the river, and collected near a hat crown full of clams, which we roasted and feasted on that night.

Here sleep entirely forsook me; through the whole night the thoughts harrowed up my feelings, that I should certainly, however unintentionally, be the cause of my esteemed companions' perishing in the wilderness, by real hunger, and that I too should suffer, without even the consolation of alleviating their distresses. Tormented with these reflections I lay restless and distressed till day light appeared, when I arose and by diligent search found a fresh supply of clams, on which we refreshed ourselves, and Holmes and Blackman were so much better, that we were able to pursue our journey, as fast as their weakness and our extremely sore feet would admit; we being all of us nearly, and some of us entirely barefooted, and the sharp slate stones, along the bank of the river, had cut us almost like knives.

This day as we were travelling, we observed some small fish, in the edge of the river, and Holmes having a hook and line with him, we caught a grasshopper, with which he baited, and soon caught three small bass, the whole, perhaps, sufficient for a common meal for a man: but our idea of the necessity of economising, still continuing, we made a meal upon the gut of the whole, and one of the fish; after having roasted, divided, and touched them off, as exact as if it had been of the greatest

possible value; and indeed few things ever appeared of more value to men, than a mouthful of food then did to us.

After partaking of this refreshment, we travelled on till near noon, when one of our company, on a sudden, cried out I see a man! casting our view forward, we perceived men building a fish ware across the river, and beyond them, on the other side of the river, we thought we perceived houses and cleared fields. I immediately said let us step back into the woods, my lads, eat our fish, and conclude how we had best proceed to obtain more to-night. We proceeded accordingly, and after we had dined, I asked them one and all what we had best to do. Pue directly gave it as his opinion, that we had best take to the woods, and steer for Coos; I objected to this, urging that we were now almost starved, and if we attempted such a business, without first having obtained a supply of provisions, we should certainly perish with hunger. The rest of our company then said, Roberts, we will leave the matter to you. Well then, says I, yonder is a bluff point, on this side the river; we will go round on to that and see what discoveries we can make from thence; if there are any troops, we shall probably know them by their dress, and will arrange our future plans accordingly. On this we sat out for the point, and when we came near to it, discovered a foot path, leading directly on to it; following this path, through a thicket of small saplins, being myself foremost, I observed a little pole, which I suppose was a fish pole, rise up before me, and looking forward, I perceived a wigwam, just at the edge of the thicket, and not more than three rods from me. On this I turned and gave notice to my companions, and we all faced about, went back a few rods through the thicket, and then took into the woods, intending to go round the wigwam; but on this new route we had progressed but a few rods, before we perceived a squaw, who had been digging roots; Pue proposed to kill her, but I objected, both on account that we should most probably be found out, and also, because that in my view it would be murder.

At this instant, the squaw saw us, and rising up, came towards us, on her way to the wigwam. Passing near to me, she said, in French, how do you do Sir? I answered in the same language, how do you do, Ma'am. In a few moments after, we heard the indian yell at the wigwam, repeated distinctly, as many times, as our company consisted of persons: this hedious sound was then answered from the islands in like manner, and reiterated in almost every direction around us,



with very little intermission, beginning from one quarter, as soon as it ceased in another. I now asked again, what shall we do boys? the general answer was, we leave it entirely to you. Well then, says I, let us avoid falling into the hands of the indians, if possible: the houses across the river, look like the habitations of white people; let us endeavor to wade the river by the foot of the islands, if possible, and give ourselves up to the whites: to this the whole agreed, and we began, with all the speed we could, to execute our plan; but in passing the first island, we discovered two birch canoes, with three indians in one, and two in the other, within five rods of us, who fell directly down, and ordered us on board, with which order we were obliged to comply. As soon as we were in the canoe, I observed some provisions on board, and said to my comrades, God bless me, my boys, there's some bread! the indians from this, conceiving we were hungry, gave us what provisions they had, which we eat like ravenous wolves.

They now proceeded with their canoes about a mile and a half, to their village, where, we feared they would make us run the gauntlet, to prevent the endurance of which indignity, we agreed to take our sticks with us, and to fight till we died. Upon reaching the shore, however, when one indian stepped out, and made signs for us to follow, the terror of immediate death so operated on my mind, and so sunk my spirits, that I followed him and forgot my stick; my companions did the same, and we were taken to the house of their chief, and there examined by an indian lad who could speak English — Being completely in their power, and conceiving all disguise to be unavailing, we told them who and from whence we were, how long we had been on our march, and our sufferings by hunger: On which the chief ordered an indian guard to take us before the commander of a Hessian party, who after examining us, at the place where we were carried to him, a little out of the village, ordered the same indians to take us back to his guard in the village.

On our way one of the indians began to deride and pester Pue, calling him indian, and placing his wampom cap upon his head, the long feather of which almost reached the ground, Pue being very low of stature. For a while I thought all was going well, but Pue being angry, called to me, engagedly, to fight; when looking round I perceived the contest to be about his pack, which the indian had hold of, and Pue refused to str-



render ; at the instant I looked round the indian had raised his tomahawk, when I bid Pue to let the pack go as resistance was vain : he did so, and in a few moments we were stripped of our's in like manner. After being thus plundered by the indians, without receiving any other ill usage, we were delivered over to the Hessian guard.

We now were fully convinced, that by reason of the lowering weather, we had for some time been unprofitably wandering round, and for four days had been following the St. Francois River, into the enemy's country. But even here we found the prevalence of humanity, for the inhabitants hearing of our sufferings for want of food, came with terreens, or trays, of milk, and bread, from various quarters, and in such abundance, that we almost killed ourselves, for want of prudence to regulate us with regard to eating.

The morning after our capture we were marched off, under guard, for Montreal ; and at Masco River were delivered over to a fresh guard : but here the painful consequences of my over-eating were so excruciating, that I had no thought I could survive an hour.

The Hessians now made signs that we must march, but as I was writhing and groaning, with tortures like the agonies of death, I returned signs that I could not ; but they pointed to a house across the river, signifying that we should put up there for the night, and by great efforts I got to the river, threw myself into the boat, and we were soon across, and up to the house. Upon entering the house I saw a guard bed, on to which I threw myself, as I thought to die ; but two men who had followed us in, spoke to us in good English, which greatly revived me, yet my affectionate companions were so distressed on my account, that they took no notice, until I spoke to the strangers, and informed them that having lately been nearly starved, I had now killed myself by eating to excess ; on this one of them, whom I afterwards found to be the doctor of a Hessian regiment, retired for a few moments, and returned with a glass of cordial, which I drank, and found almost instant and effectual relief. Our guard would not suffer them to converse much with us : my kind reliever told me to be sure to call on him in the mornings : this I was not permitted to do, but he stood at his door, and called to us to come to him, but the guards compelled us to proceed ; observing me to be bareheaded in the scorching sun, the indians having taken away my hat, he ran to me with a good white fur one, saying take this, God bless you, it is all I can do for you. This kind treatment

from a friendly stranger, and that too from one in the garb of an enemy, drew tears from my eyes, and many a thankful emotion from my heart.

At Sorel, we were delivered over to another Hessian guard, and here my companions, especially Holmes, were in nearly as great distress, in consequence of eating to excess, as I had been the day before; yet we were obliged to proceed, the guard however allowed the poor tortured creatures to stop at times, when their pains were excruciating: this day my sick companions suffered beyond account, the day being sultry, and we pinioned, though loosely, and linked together with ropes, something like a four cattle team. Our guard came to a halt, after traveling about four miles, and set down their guns in the stoop of the house, near to where they left us; admiring their carelessness, I looked on our cords, and concluded that we could clear them off in a few moments; I looked at the thoughtless creatures; and felt assured that I could kill three out of the five, of which number our guard consisted, at one shot, I had even picked out the shoes that would suit each of us; and mentioned to my comrades the ease with which we might regain our liberty, and at the same time furnish ourselves with provisions and arms: But my friend Holmes objected, saying, if you do Roberts, I must die in their hands. To desert so faithful a friend was impossible, and this consideration prevented my shedding of blood at that time.

Holmes and the rest of my companions got better the next day, and we were delivered from guard to guard, till we arrived at Montreal. In our guard at this time, from Chamble to Montreal, was the soldier, who as I before mentioned, informed his companion, (on our first arrival at Chamble,) that I was the man who killed Billy Donnivan, at Portash; on our march now, he informed me, that he lay sick in the house, at that place, when I fired, entered, and drove out the party; and he added my appearance struck him so singularly, that it would never be erased from his mind: he could compare me to nothing, he said, but a wild boar, foaming with fury against his opposers, for the fire of my eye was frightful, and the froth stood on both sides of my mouth, like a suds, while I thundered upon them to quit the house. This man used me with every attention in his power, while on the march.

On our arrival at Montreal, we had once more to undergo the abuse and threats of General Powel, who again sent us to the provost. Mr. Jones, the provost master, was one of the best men in the world, and during near three weeks that we

remained under his charge, treated us with great generosity : but this was so far from being the case with others, that it gave me a very lasting idea of the difference between man and man.

By way of contrast I shall mention, that one day a loyalist, an old acquaintance, who had several times insulted me before, came by as I stood by the sentry at the gate of the prison yard : on seeing me, he says, Roberts, you are a d——'d rascal ; you call me so, Capt. said I, because I wish to return to our common country, the place of my affections, but where you dare not shew your head ; he continued his abuse and I strove not to remain in his debt ; he certainly would have got a little more than his change, had there not been a sentry between us.

One day I asked the benevolent Mr. Jones, if he knew one Samuel Adams, in Montreal, he said he did, and on my asking if he would inform him I was in the prison, and wished to see him, he said he would ; and accordingly, towards night, he came and told me to go and see my friend Mr. Adams : I went accordingly, and we seated ourselves for conversation, when he told me in a few words, of his severe sufferings, on account of being suspected of being friendly to America : and added he, our conversation must now be short, or I shall be again suspected ; and if I am tried for my life now, as I have heretofore been, perhaps I may not fare even so well as I did before. On this he gave me a dollar, and bid me good bye for that time : and the next day, his man brought me several pounds of loaf sugar, near a pound of tea, and a cake of chocolate ; yet I knew no reason why Mr. Jones the provost master, or Mr. Adams should befriend me, more than the Captain I have mentioned, only that the two former appeared to be humane gentlemen, and the latter a brutish churl.

Liberty was still so dear to me, and my great desire to be at home, became so irresistible, that notwithstanding all I had suffered in my former disappointments, and unfortunate attempts, I again began to concert plans for another attempt ; but calling to mind the severe feelings I had experienced on account of the sufferings of those who were with me, particularly on my last distressing excursion, I came pretty much to the determination to go alone ; especially as I found several places where I thought I could get out singly : but it appearing too cruel to make such an attempt, and not let my former faithful companions know my intentions, I at length told them, and they said no, you must not leave us ; we stuck by you once, and we will again. Upon this it was unitedly agreed on, that we would together make another trial to regain



our freedom, and the night was set for the execution of our design. At this crisis of our affairs, a prisoner from the Mohawk river, finding that we were going, agreed to join us, but the afternoon of the day in which we sat out, he fell back, being either really, or feignedly, extremely sick, and groaning like a dying man.

This person, we had reason to suspect, told one John Carteel, a very treacherous man, of our plan, who we had equal reason to apprehend informed the guard: for they fixed a bar across the gate that day, and kept a more strict watch over us than had been usual: the sergeant in particular, was up several times to look to the prisoners, which was not a common business with him, for he had usually been considerably remiss in that part of his duty. I however in a great measure deceived them, by beginning in the afternoon to complain much of the camp distemper, with a slight attack of which I was in reality distressed, and the doctor was sent to visit me, who feeling my pulse bid me take courage, for I should soon be better; on this he left me a portion of rhubarb, which I took from him and concealed, while, to forward my plan, I maintained my course of deception, and kept the orderly man running to attend me, to and from the necessary, all the afternoon and evening, I all the time crouching, groaning, and complaining, the better to conceal our design.

Thus I continued my deception till the hour arrived which I had destined for the execution of my plan. Our room was a chamber, and the windows from which we intended to jump above ten feet from the ground: My agreement was for my comrades to spring for and open the gate, while I would encounter the guard, and defend them, or perish in the attempt. But concluding that jumping from the window would for a few moments, by the jar, deprive me of the ability of defending them, as I might otherwise do, I decided on following up my work of deception a little further; that I would feign another distressed turn, and in coming back would take care to manage so that the orderly man attending me should enter the guard room first; that then I would give my comrades the appointed signal for jumping, then catch up the axe, which I would place handy for the purpose, knock down the centry, if necessary, and perform every act of defence that circumstances may require; meanwhile my comrades were to follow Holmes, if they could effect an escape from the gate together, or, in case of separation, run to a certain ambusiére, where, if I escaped



with my life, I would endeavor to join them. I accordingly progressed so far as to give the signal for their jumping, but their hearts failed them: I therefore stepped on the seat of the lower window, and reached up the ax to the chamber window, which Holmes took in. I then following my attendant into the guard house went up to our room, where finding them still willing to venture, I told Holmes to jump out of the window near him and Blackman to follow, while Pue should follow me out of the other. This was all done in a whisper, yet not so low but that we were overheard by a prisoner of the name of M'Wire: who asked in a low whisper, Roberts where are you going? adding, I am your friend: if you are, said I, lay still, but he got up softly and came to me, kissed my cheek affectionately, and then laid down. Either our whispering or the motion of M'Wire was heard by the rascal Carteel, who lodged in the next room, wherein was the window out of which Pue and I were to jump, and to our great surprise he halloed in a loud voice who's there? which alarm was immediately repeated by the Hessian sentry at the gate. On this I stepped to Carteel, & told him in a low but firm tone to lie still or he was a dead man, and he held his peace. I then stepped to my window, Pue being close behind me, made my signal, dropped the ax, and immediately jumping out regained it, and perceiving the sentry making from the gate for the guard room door, I met him and made a stroke near him with my axe, not meaning to strike him; and seeing he had not his gun, but stood sentry with his cutlass, as Hessians frequently do, I threw my axe by him, and springing upon him, threw him, and fixing my knee on his breast, attempted to take his cutlass, but it being naked, and the guard now attempting to get at me with their cutlasses, in the dark, I could not carry this point, but rising off the centry I broke through the croud, though there were not less than fourteen of them, and run to the gate, where I found the bar hanging by one end, and gave it a pull, but did not get it out, my assailants coming up I turned upon them, who I conceive were not apprised, it being very dark, that there were any more attempting to escape than me. We now went round the yard swiftly, I attempting to drive them back, and they to kill me, till at length we fell in a heap on some low gun carriages, in one corner of the yard, almost all together, and doubtless the difficulty of distinguishing me from the rest, in the dark, was here my safeguard. As I had two or three under me, this fall did not hurt me, and fully realising that it was life or death with me, I exerted every muscle of my frame, and there was a horrid

swearing and yelling among the Hessians, especial. by one poor wretch, who being undermost, was sadly bruised and crippled. Rising as speedily as possible, I laid hold of one of my assailants by both arms, and twiveling him off his feet, swung him against the others, in both directions, till having cleared a passage, I ran to the gate, and finding it now open, got out, but tripping over the threshold, I went blundering across the narrow street, and fell on the pavement.

This gave some of my pursuers an opportunity to fall on and press me down on the stones, but not being hurt by the fall I cleared myself once more, from all of them, except one who hung by my loose coat for a few steps, when stopping short I brought him within reach, and stopping him with my left hand I struck him so forcibly with my right, as to knock him to a considerable distance. His comrades in the mean time had passed me, I therefore jumped over him I had knocked down, then sprang to the other side of the street and ran for the corner, but here striking my toe against the fender of the corner, I pitched on the hard path so forcibly, as it seemed to me had nearly beat my bowels out of my body; yet I soon arose, and struggled on, and turning to my right hand gained the green which led to the town wall, where soon coming to an ambuscade, I jumped down into the trench, a depth of about eighteen feet, and thence climbing over a wall of about eight feet in height, I got into Montreal meadow. In this meadow, running to the north, the moon being about rising, I had not gone far before I perceived a man, in a white coat, within a few rods of me, and supposing him to be one of my party, went to meet him, and gave him my token, which instead of returning, he bid me good night, which compliment I returned, and when he was out of sight changed my course, for fear he should give information respecting me and I should be pursued. At length I came to a thicket of bushes, and it being now near morning, I lay down to pass the day.

As soon as night came on I steered for the river; it was exceeding dark, but I felt along the fence till I found a stake which I procured, thinking it would serve me for a paddle, if I could find a canoe. I went on searching carefully along the river, and at length found one, but it was chained too securely to give way to my strength. After a while I found one, the lock to the chain of which was so defective that it easily submitted to my efforts.

While releasing the canoe I saw a torch light on the river bank, and soon perceived men on shore and in the boat tow-

ing her up toward me, on this account I hastened in my operations, and having freed my boat pushed her afloat, taking two or three silent but forcible strokes with my paddle, to clear a birth for them between me and the shore, I then laid down in the bottom of the boat, drifting with the current till some way below them, when I plied my paddle with all my might, to cross the river, which was here three miles in width.

In my way across, after great toil, I struck upon an island, where, conceiving I had got to the main, I at first thought of setting my boat afloat; but Providence prevented by instilling the idea, that it may operate injuriously for some honest Canadian; on this thought occurring I drew up the boat, and happy was it for me that I did so, for after walking on a considerable time, wondering I did not find a road, I perceived through the gloom something of white appearance, and coming to it found it to be water. Alarmed at this discovery I tried engagedly to find a place where the river was fordable, but all in vain, for after many fruitless attempts I was convinced of its impracticability. At a loss for some time for a mode of procedure, at length I took my direction along the shore, and soon coming to the point of the island passed round to my canoe, and once more getting afloat, labored round said point, paddling or setting with my oar with all possible energy, where the water admitted, and dragging or pushing my boat along where the shoals obstructed my passage, till I again struck land.

Here I once more hauled up my boat, and travelled on, but found no road, which made me conclude that I had struck another island, and should here have to spend the day, or perhaps be retaken. Having reached the further side of this island, a flock of sheep started up before me, and I followed them to a house, before which laid a large and a small canoe, and in the former lay two oars, one of which I seized, and was pushing the small canoe from the shore, when two dogs came furiously upon me from the house, and I did but just escape them.

Being once more afloat I exerted all my strength to get over to the main, a fair sight of which presented, from the clearness of the sky, and the rising of the moon; and by great exertion I speedily reached it.

Having gained the shore, I found myself in the plain road, and directed my course up the river toward Langale; but now my camp distemper became so severe, that my former feigning was turned to a solemn reality. I got into the woods fatigued and tortured, but wearisomeness getting the better of my pain, I fell asleep, the sun being then about rising, and did

not awake till about ten o'clock. It was in the beginning of October, and a cold frosty morning; which rendered my situation, afflicted as I was with a painful disease, too uncomfortable, or indeed miserable, for me to describe. I was completely chilled, my bowels were tortured, my head swam, and it was near a quarter of an hour before I could gain strength enough to stand on my feet. In this distressed state, I began seriously to consider my deplorable circumstances, and to reflect on what I had best to do. I had hankered exceedingly after milk, and several times in passing cows on the road, had attempted to obtain a little, but could find no one which would stand still for me; I had then attempted to find a milk house, which are frequent among the Canadians, but was disappointed on entering an out house, to find it a bake house instead of a milk house: in coming out, two dogs from the stoop of the adjacent dwelling house flew out, and I escaped from them by flight; thus disappointed in my views, I had fled to the woods as before mentioned, and was there brought seriously to review my own case: the attempt to take to the woods, as I then was, appeared to me to be certain death; by delivering myself up, I could but die; and my relatives may hear of my fate at some time or other; or I may providentially find a humane friend, and yet be preserved. I therefore resolved to use every prudent precaution in my power, but to enter a house by some means, to seek for shelter and relief.

After having fixed this determination, I travelled on and soon entered a savannah, or wild meadow, full of cocks of hay, and saw a Canadian at a distance, to whom I thought to address myself; but getting my eye off from him, he eluded my vigilance, and all my efforts were vain to obtain sight of him again. This occasioned my thoughts to be troubled: I concluded the man was startled on seeing me; that he had probably heard of my escape, and would very likely inform of me: I therefore took to the thicket again, till I came to a place from whence a house was fairly in view, where I determined to lay that day, and watch the motion of things, to discover, if possible, whether there were any soldiers in the neighborhood, and at night to venture in there, if I should deem it proper. I had not been here long, before a woman came along, on the other side of the fence, with two children, when putting one child over within a short distance of the spot where I lay, and reaching back to take hold of the other, I rose up and said to her in French, how do you do Madam: she appeared considerably affrighted, but mildly answered how do you do Sir.



Her voice and appearance was somewhat pleasing to me, and I immediately, in broken French, made known to her my state of health, and deplorable circumstances, and she invited me to her house : I objected, and requested her to ask her husband to come out to me ; but she rejoined with engagedness my husband is a boon friend to the Yankees, all one, all one as the Bostonians. On this friendly assurance I rose up, and followed her, and with them and one other Canadian family of their neighborhood, I tarried a week, experiencing every species of kindness that their circumstances admitted, and my necessities required. On the day I found this much needed asylum, my friend, the husband of my protectress, saw a British party when he went for his cows in the evening, who informed him of our escape, and that they were going to Point au Fair in search of us.

Having now recovered my health, in a desirable degree, I took leave of my very humane friends, particularly my kind first protectress, and the mistress of the other Canadian family that favored me ; some tears were shed on both sides, and indeed heartfelt sensations experienced on my part, that can be better imagined than described. I then endeavored to steer for Ticonderoga, through La Prairie, and coming to where three roads met, one leading to St. Johns, and one to Caughnawaga, I took the middle road, and run to the end of it that night. I here took to the woods, and kept travelling till near day, and then laid down, and took a very comfortable nap. On arising, I found the sun shone clear, and felt grateful, tho' I contemplated the tediousness of a march of an hundred and fifty miles, as I conceived, to be made through the woods, before I should reach Ticonderoga, and not a voice to cheer, or a human arm to assist me.

The weather was fair for a few days, but then changed, and a rain ensued, which obliged me, as I had no compass, to sit still, at the foot of a pine tree, for almost one day ; but towards evening the sun shone out, and I travelled on till almost dark. This night, I think, I ventured to make a fire, and rested very comfortably ; in the morning, when I awoke, I sat considering of the great goodness of God, manifested towards me in so many sparing mercies, when my mind became more than commonly exercised, and I felt constrained solemnly to covenant with Jehovah, that if I should be preserved home to Bennington, I would serve him with my life ; and as an open profession of my gratitude, would cause my friend, the minister of that town, to return public thanks for my de-

riverance and return. While these thoughts engrossed my mind, as if providence was pleased to take me at my word, I was alarmed by a scratching on a tree near me, and looking round I saw a raccoon, running up a saplin, though it was not the one I had heard. I caught up my staff, and ran hastily to the saplin, when I saw the creature that first alarmed me, on a large pine tree, but I could not see the one on the saplin, (which was a witch hazel or hard hack,) as he had hidden himself in its top: I thought, however, that I would shake the saplin against the pine tree, to scare the raccoon that was on the tree, and on taking hold of it I found it top-heavy: on which I shook it severely, and the creature at length fell, and I killed him with my staff, and cooked him; and having a rag of fine salt, which one of my friendly Canadian women had given me, I enjoyed for several days, with singular satisfaction, the food which God had favored me with, as a seal of agreement, fixed by Heaven to the engagement I had solemnly though unfaithfully entered into.

One day after this, the clouds again seemed gathering for a storm; it appeared unfavorable, and being on a flat, whereon were many large high pines, I concluded that if I climbed one of them I might see the lake, or perceive the range of the hills, so as to be able to keep my course, if the sun should shut in, I accordingly ascended a very high one, and though I could not see the lake I gained the direction of the hills: but here I was near to finishing my career, for being more than one hundred feet in the air, Providence was pleased so to order that the limb on which I stood broke, and I fell a little distance, but catching another limb was severely shocked, but almost miraculously preserved from death.

Descending carefully from the tree, I again commenced my journeying, and after a series of renewed exertions endured for several days, I struck the lake, somewhere about Peru, without meeting with any thing particularly worthy of being recorded.

From Peru I took the track that General Burgoyne pursued with his cattle and horses. The day in which I expected to have reached Gullinard's Creek, where I conceived I should obtain shelter for a night, I was impeded by a very severe rain, and obliged to pass a dreary night, in a howling wilderness, under the shelter of a great oak: and indeed this night I was more disturbed and terrified, than in any other of my journey. It became exceeding dark soon after I had laid by for the night, and the rain descended like a torrent: I thought before dark

that I once or twice heard the howling of a wolf, but when all was darkness, and the tempest severe, they seemed to be collected around me, in almost every direction, howling as if they would rend the elements, and apparently at but a few rods distance from me. I really thought at times, that they would have hold of me in a moment, and frequently reflected upon the expediency of endeavoring to find and ascend a small tree; but being something apt to stumble in the dark, and fearful if I should, that they would the more certainly and effectually annoy me, I kept my ground, and a little before day they drew off, so that I saw none of them. Next morning I moved on, the rain still continuing, and had gone but a short distance before I discovered Gillinard's house, wherein I might have had a shelter for the night, by a few minutes additional exertion.

I entered the house, and finding nobody there, enjoyed its shelter for a while, and being as wet as if I had been in the river. I concluded if I could find any thing to which I could strike fire I would venture to kindle one, to dry my clothes, &c. on which I began to search round in the cracks, and presently went up the ladder into the chamber; but here as I was stepping off the ladder, on to the floor, I perceived a blanket, apparently thrown over two men. On this, I was very near to hastening down the ladder and fleeing; but upon second thought, I ventured up, and pulling off the blanket, I found that it had been laid over three full bags, one containing corn and beans, another sam., and the third parched corn, finely powdered. This last was a valuable acquisition to me, wherefore, taking about six quarts of it, and the blanket, I left the house, and once more, with something of a grateful heart, I trust, betook myself to my journey, steering down across the open farms to Split Rock. Here I went to a harbor, where many times boatmen put in to lodge, and finding nothing to alarm me, I concluded to lay by until the wind fell, and then endeavor to cross the lake, it being a narrow place; but going up a high bank, and taking a view of the lake from thence, I observed a British vessel under full sail towards me; On this I speedily got out of view, and regardless of the rain pursued my journey up the lake.

It now stopped raining, and having got a new store of provisions, though I was very wet, yet I travelled on without repining, and two nights after reached Bullwaga Bay, opposite Crown Point. This night was exceedingly cold for the season, and I almost suffered by the frost; neither was I in such a situation as to feel safe, or to enjoy very great com-



posure of mind, for I saw the flash of both evening and morning gun from an English vessel, which lay between Crown and Chimney Points.

In the morning I pursued my tour round the bay, and distinctly heard somebody on Crown Point, hail the British vessel that lay there. I then steered for Putnam's Creek, and from thence to Ticonderoga, but evening coming on I here used the greatest caution, for though the British troops had left the garrison, their scouts frequently visited those parts. Meeting no interruption I began immediately to make a raft of some old boards and a large door I found, and soon finished it and set myself across on to mount Independence. Here I met with two Scotch families, and received hospitable treatment, they being the only human beings I had seen for ten days.

The house I first called at was that of an old widower, who had a young daughter as a house-keeper, and he ordered something to be set before me for refreshment, and in return, I talked in proportion to my joy, not regarding his patience, till I conceived him to be wearied; however in the morning he again entertained me according to his ability and circumstances.

The next day I travelled to Cautleton, and through the goodness of God was enabled to sensate liberty, and in a desirable degree to relish all its sweets. Here I found many friends, and enjoyed peculiar happiness in their company and friendly commiseration. The next day I obtained a chance to ride, a circumstance may require, to Sunderland, where I met with a friend, who had some money I had left with him, and which he paid me, with a punctuality that evinced his honesty, and a pleasure that shewed the goodness of his heart.

With my kind friends in Sunderland I enjoyed several agreeable interviews, and my faithful agent procured me a horse to ride to Bennington, on my way to which place, I called, at the house of Mr. Jonas Galusha, of Shaftsbury, who was exceedingly surprised to see me, his first salutation being, "God bless me! how do you do? Are you alive!—I have just received a message from your old comrades, to convey to Col. Herrick, to inform him that you were killed, in attempting to make your escape from the prison in Montreal." Mr. Galusha treated me with an attention, suited to my sufferings in a righteous cause, and to the vehemence of his heart. I staid with him to dine, and then set out for Bennington, to carry news respecting myself to the Col. and here had the pleasure of receiving many hearty congratu-



actions on my return, and to receive tokens of sincere affection from a great many very excellent friends.

But O the unaccountable folly of man ! the awful ingratitude of the human heart ! the forgetfulness and wickedness of the unsanctified mind ! I forgot my solemn promise to God, made in the day when he preserved, and almost miraculously fed me in the wilderness ; and neglected to make a public or even private solemn acknowledgement to God for his manifold goodness, in preserving me amidst dangers, feeding me amidst solitary wilds, and returning me to the haven of all my desires. To my shame I must mention that I not only forgot my solemn vows, and neglected my incumbent duty in this respect, but returned again to my old and debasing practices, and to my vain companions, *like the Jew that was invited to her wallowing in the mire.*

After spending a few days in Bennington, I set out to go to see my friends down country, especially my mother in West Springfield, on Connecticut River.

But O the goodness of a sin-pardoning God ! the wonderful superintendence of an ever present, and merciful Providence ! the infinitely operative power of a warning and reclaiming Redeemer. Though I was thus ungrateful and undutiful to my God and Heavenly Father, yet he was pleased not to let me go on without his heavenly admonition, and terrible visitation. He met me on my journey in the visions of the night, and was pleased to set my sins in heinous order before my face.

I dreamt that I was in a house in Old Canaan, in Connecticut, which my father moved from, when he went to reside in Stillwater, New York ; which event took place when I was nine years of age. I thought that I was standing looking out of a west window towards Salisbury hill. On a sudden, a dreadful and tremendous blaze burst out of the south end of the hill, full in my sight, a blue and terrible blaze, and flashed from end to end of the hill, and as far as my eye could extend.

On observing this most dreadful scene, my first impressions were, that the world was coming to an end ; that my fate was fixed and my doom sealed forever ; on which my sins, even my secret enormities, as well as my open violations of solemn covenant with Heaven, stared me in the face, and filled my soul with fear and trembling. Even the glass of the window seemed to melt close to my face, and the sulphurous scent emitted from the blaze, almost choked me ; on which I

threw myself on the bed crying for mercy, mercy! when I awoke and found it was a dream; and like all the other warnings of a benignant Creator, it was for the time disregarded, and I ran on in my thoughtless career for some years, meeting many solemn convictions, but resisting the divine influence, and slighting the gracious invitations of a glorious Redeemer.

At this time a solemn awakening prevailed in Bennington, to which place I returned, after visiting of my friends; and here again I had to combat the operations of the spirit in a singular manner; for altho' many of my former vain companions, and some of those too whom I most esteemed, were among the favored of the Lord, apparently, being induced to sing a new song, and to call for mercy, in their solemn family prayers; yet I cleaved to the profligate remnant that remained, and forwarded their vain, soul polluting merriments, while, on my bed, conviction would often so powerfully assail me, as to cause me to water my pillow with many a bitter tear.

Immediately on my return to Bennington, after my journey, I applied to Col Herrick for assistance, with respect to obtaining pay for my services, if not some compensation for my sufferings; and he promptly assisted in procuring my pay roll, as a lieutenant, with the allowance for one ration, amounting in the whole to six hundred and twenty six dollars.

With this instrument he went to Stillwater, to Gen. Stark who was equally free in doing every thing belonging to him to do, to ascertain the services, and secure the payment of my demand: but by reason of the then deranged state of the finances of the United States, payment was, by some means postponed, and a remuneration for my services, or for those of my company, has never been made. But to return to my narrative again;

I spent this winter in Bennington, at common labor; but now the effects of my numerous hardships, heat and cold, a draught, became apparent; for I was seized with so severe a pain in my bones, as frequently to render me entirely incapable of business. In the spring, being a little better, I engaged in carrying flour across the mountain, for Col. Hazen's regiment, from Manchester, in Vermont, to Charleston, in New Hampshire; but on my return the second time I was seized with so severe pains in my back and hips (which were settled into my right knee, and produced very large swellings, attended with extreme torture) as to deprive me of all possi-

the enjoyment for a long time, notwithstanding every means I could use to obtain relief.

Thus from season to season I went on, sometimes able to endure great fatigue, at others obliged to lay wholly by, being afflicted with uncommon aches and pains, the result of former more severe experience; yet even at these times, when the alarm of public danger prevailed, and particular exertion became necessary, my old spirit of enterprise revived, and I felt constrained to engage my voluntary service, on equis or otherwise, (the impulse of my mind being irresistible.

I shall now conclude with a few closing observations. In the first place I am, by my suffering in the public cause, so early as my fifty ninth year, reduced to the inability of seventy or upward: and indeed, so severe have been the effects of my sufferings, in the year 1778 (for which I never have yet, nor perhaps ever shall receive a dollar, as payment from Congress) that I verily believe, in the time which has since elapsed, I have not been able to perform more than half the labor that I might otherwise have done; and at present, from the disorder having fallen into my right arm, I am rendered almost totally unable to attend to bodily labor of any kind.

But blessed be God, I trust I have been enabled, through divine grace, at length to repent of my open and secret breaches of covenant with Jehovah, and to embrace the kind invitations of the Redeemer. I humbly trust that contrition has terminated in conversion, and an heartfelt enjoyment of the hope of salvation through the merits alone of our precious glorious Mediator. And my most earnest prayer to God is, that he would mercifully enable me to spend the remnant of an often singularly preserved life in his service, with a zeal in some degree proportioned to my exertions in worldly concerns.

O that the Lord may cause me to persevere to the end, that so I may long near the footstool of the throne of all grace and dig within the shadow of the everlasting covenant of redeeming love.

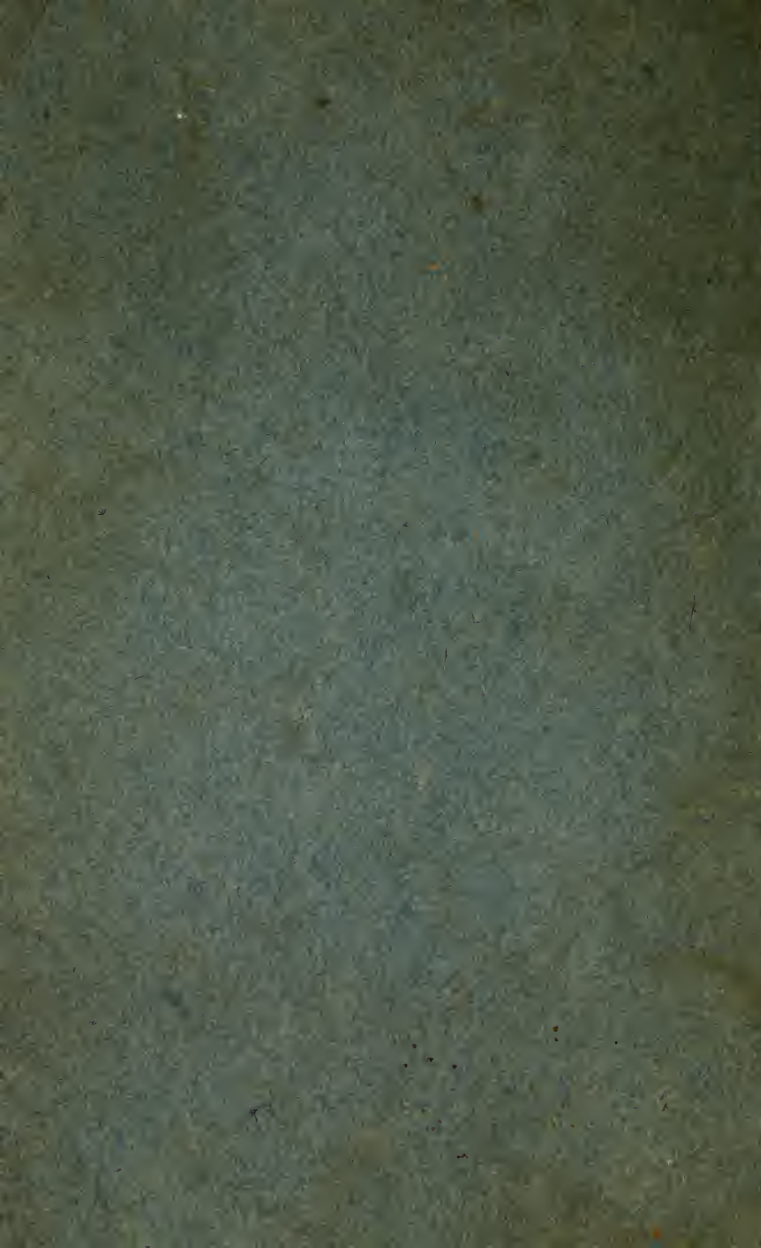
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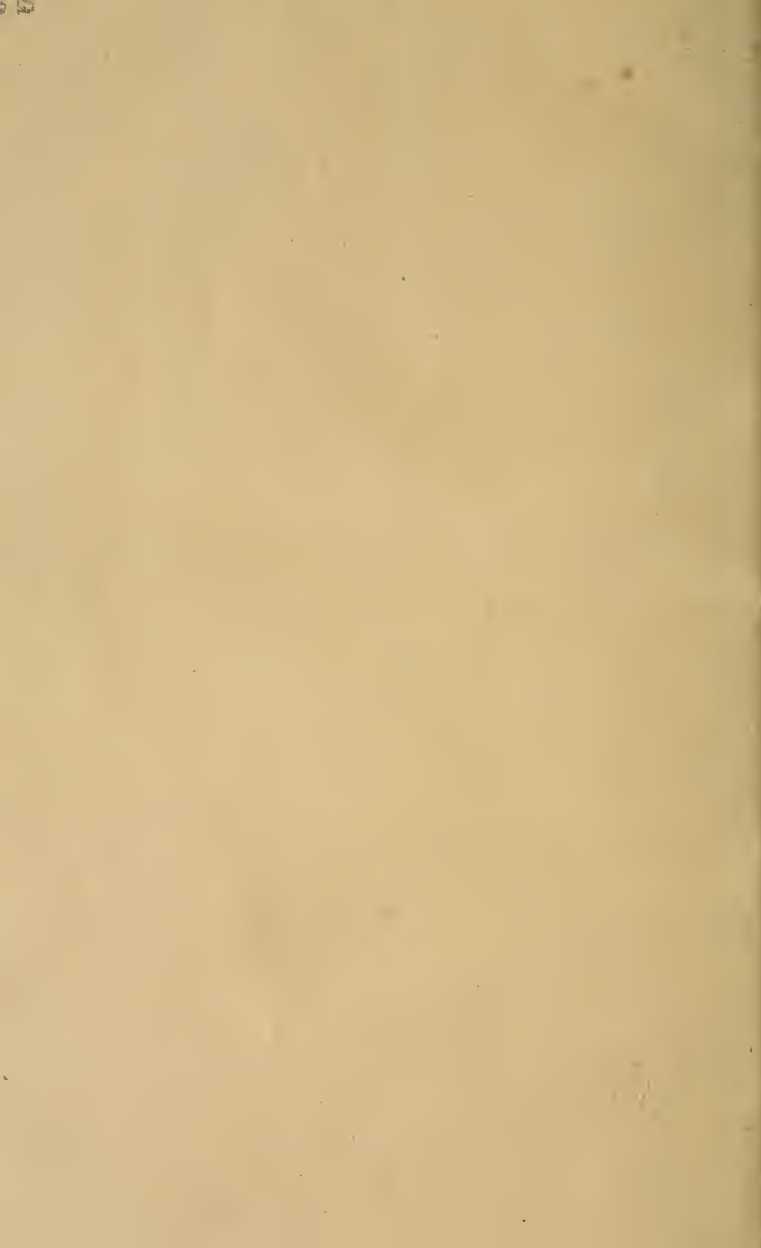
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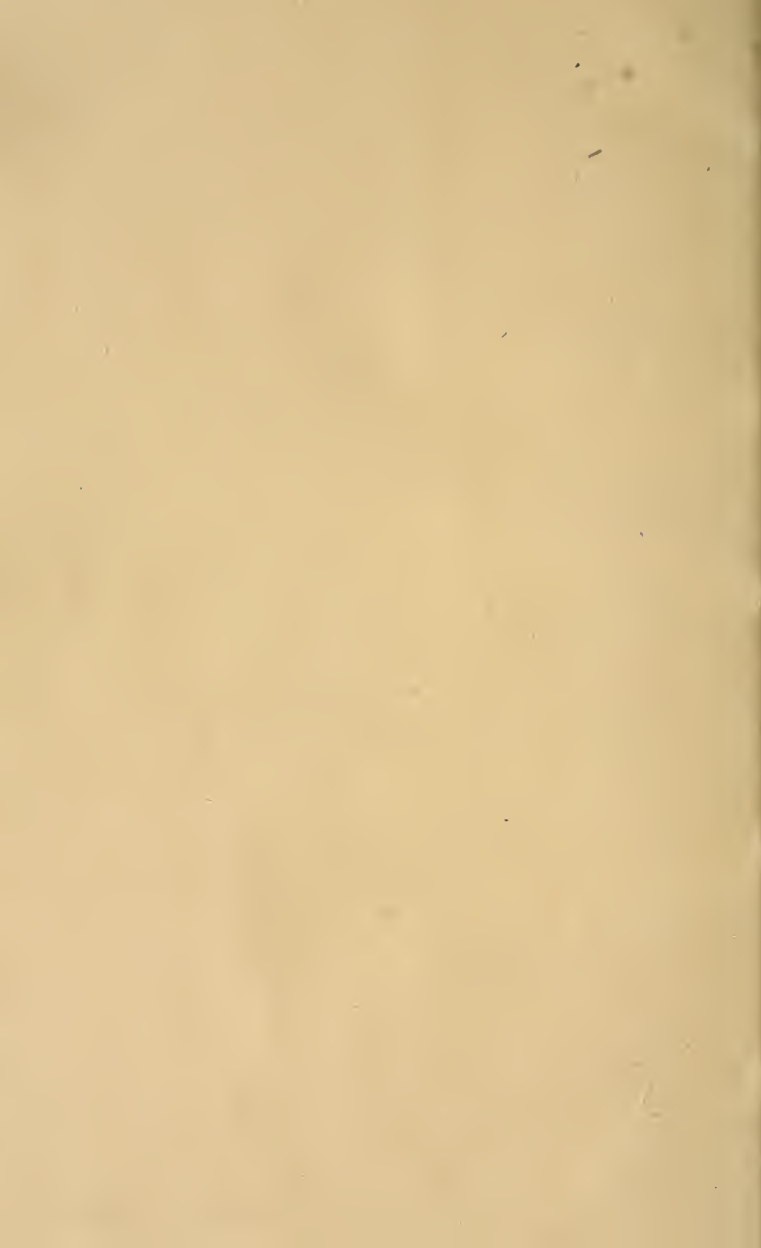












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